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BOMBAY

MANHOOD IN THE MAKING

*Practical Suggestions on the Ideal Development
of the Physical, Mental and Social Life of Boys*

Edited by
T. F. COADE

M.A.

Headmaster of Bryanston School

D. B. TARAPOREVALA SONS & CO., LTD.

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relationship with, his material and spiritual environment. Education aims, among other things, at enabling a human being to achieve harmony, the attainment of which is accompanied and marked by that rare quality, serenity, or inner peace, which fills the soul of man only where there is harmonious co-operation between body, mind, and spirit. How, then, can man attain this harmony, this inner peace? That is, how can he best achieve and attain fitness of body, health of mind, freedom in emotional life, contact with his spiritual source? What is man's duty and aim as an individual? What is the right relationship with the invisible world with which he makes contacts in art and religion? What are the sources of love, joy, and peace? What is his duty to his family, to his locality, to his country as a citizen, to humanity at large as a social being? Can the full human life be lived in totalitarian conditions? Or can it best be lived in democratic conditions as they exist to-day? What is religion? Is the Christian way of life a practical proposition or a Utopian dream?

These are some of the questions which perplex parents and teachers. On these questions this book attempts not so much to dogmatize as to throw light. It is the work of a number of men of varied experience but animated by a common impulse and by a common conception of the function of education. That which is common to them all is that same belief which differentiates Christianity from state worship, namely belief in, and respect for, the supreme value of the individual. That is not to imply that they do not value the state, nor appreciate the need for organization; but they would hold that the state was made for man, and not man for the state. They would therefore disapprove any national or religious system which denies to its members scope for the full exercise of those human faculties, the development of which has

raised man from the level of the animals, and upon the continued development of which progress of every kind depends.

The plan followed in this book is first to survey 'The Material', *i.e.*, to consider the boy himself—the potential specimen of manhood—in the light of modern knowledge of hygiene and physical education, of psychology and educational philosophy.

This is followed by a short section in which 'The Makers' are considered. After this come three chapters which give some account of what was, is, and might be in the three main kinds of schools for adolescent boys in this country, written by headmasters who should know from considerable experience what they are writing about. Finally comes the chapter on vocational guidance by two experts whose experience enables them to speak with authority as to the best environment for emergent manhood coming to grips with the problem of earning a livelihood.

After reading this book parents and teachers will, it is hoped, be in a better position to tackle their highly responsible vocation. They may even, if it be not too late, take stock and modify their own attitude or way of life, if they are in these pages enabled to see light where before there was darkness or fog. They should certainly be better able to understand and more ready to sympathize with the moods and difficulties, the joys and sorrows of young people. They should also be in a stronger, because better informed, position to demand from schools such conditions of curriculum, method, and general outlook as recent research and experiment have shown to be not only possible but necessary in education. If they have not already selected a school, and if they be in a position to do so, this book may help

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them towards a criterion by which they may estimate what education might be. Teachers may be better able to see themselves as others see them; they, too, may be enabled to take stock and, where possible, modify their methods and approach to life, and so may become a little clearer as to what they can give and how they can give it.

This brief introduction would not be complete without an acknowledgment on the part of the Editor of his debt of gratitude to the Baroness de Ward, Dr. Oswald Schwarz, and Mr. F. G. Howe, for their invaluable help in connection with the preparation of this book. He also wishes to thank Mr. Charles Morgan and his publishers (Messrs. Macmillan and Co., Ltd.) for permission to quote his poem 'The Stream' in the chapter on 'Maturity'.

T. F. COADE

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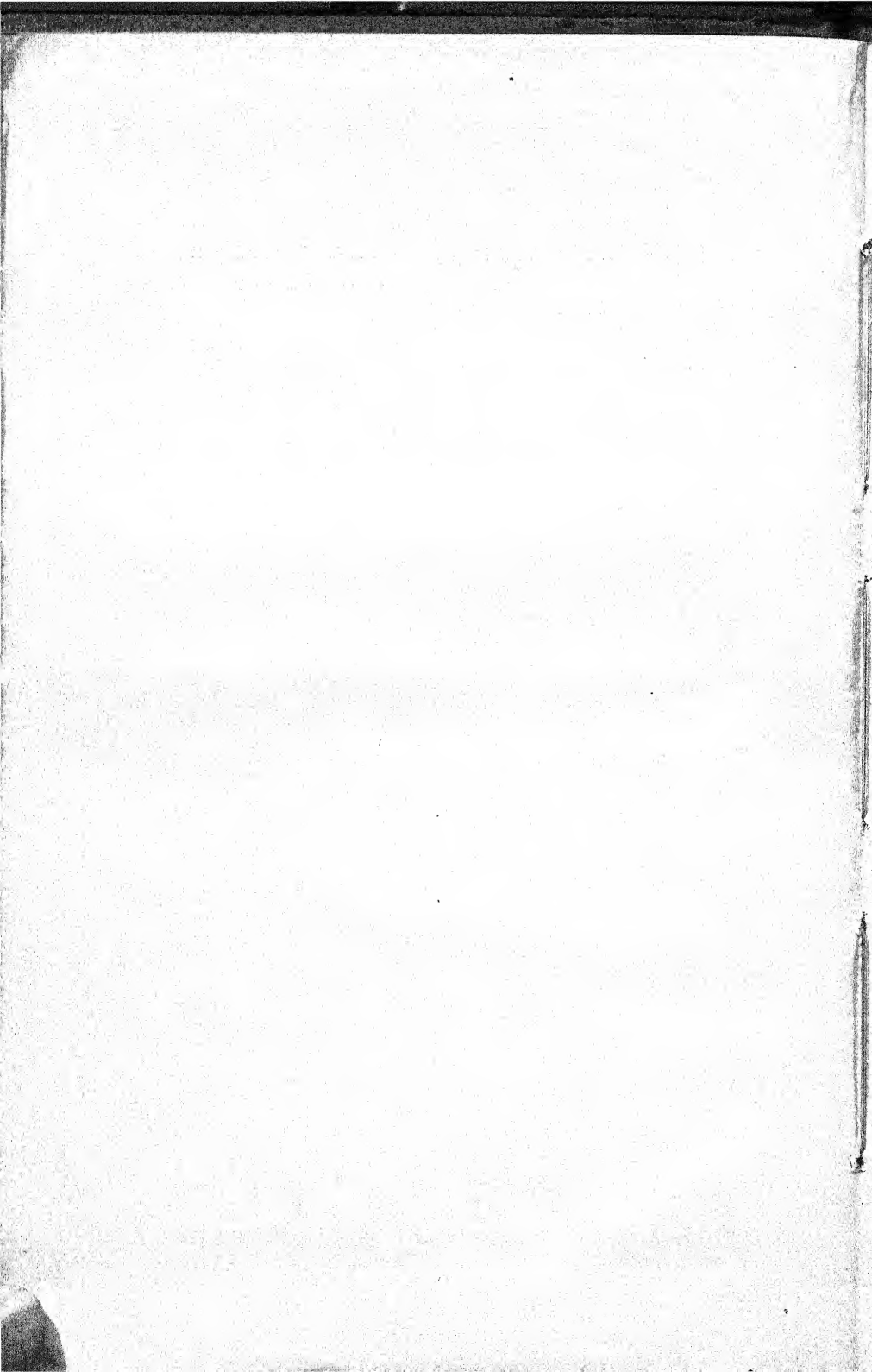
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PHYSICAL EDUCATION

By P. A. SMITHELLS

ABOUT THE FUNDAMENTAL education of the whole human organism there is still a lack of solid experience, of accurate scientific evidence and psychological understanding. This is still essentially a time of experiment, but although few laws can be laid down, the experiments of the last thirty years have made certain points clear and have removed certain superstitions and misconceptions. The aims are clearer, there is less haphazard work, methods are tested and appraised.

Four main ideas are generally accepted. Firstly, physical education must benefit all children. Secondly, real benefit depends largely on enjoyment. Thirdly, the whole syllabus, the whole gymnastic, must be based on scientific knowledge of the human body and mind. Fourthly, there must be attention to individual needs as well as to groups of children.

Physical education must benefit all children: such an idea would seem to be common sense, but for many years ordinary team games, sports, and old-fashioned gymnastics have been the provinces of the expert. The mediocre have tried to emulate, the weak have been disheartened and have lost interest, but there is at least one physical activity that appeals to each boy, some type of movement which he enjoys, which it is our duty to find and foster. Perhaps, too, there are other physical activities less spontaneously enjoyable which he realizes to be wise for the sake of health. In the first category would come such skilful activities as swimming, diving, jumping, or throwing some missile such as discus or javelin. In the second would come gymnastics and gymnastic games with their corrective and quickening effects. If a boy learns to throw a discus, not for a prize or a record, which are only secondary

incentives, but for the sheer virile and æsthetic pleasure derived, he has not only gained more control of his body, but also a feeling of pleasurable achievement: and this latter is one of the factors that build up character and happiness.

The joy of movement is denied to too many children, because the types of movement they are expected to make are too narrow or too skilful. A well balanced system of physical activities with scope and choice will offer some suitable activity for each child. So, too, with the modern gymnastic lesson, which is planned in such a way that it gives equal opportunity to all the children. It first increases the rate of circulation and warms the body, thus as it were washing away fatigue products; this is followed by relaxation, then by exercises and games so designed as to remove stiffness from joints and muscles, to increase the responsiveness of breathing—in fact to correct the effects of prolonged sitting, which is a main factor in distorting and interfering with the godly functioning of young bodies. The body now refreshed and released from stiffness can build up new strength, speed, agility, and stamina by the work done in the second half of the lesson. To end, there is some quietening exercise or rest to enable the refreshed body to come back to a condition where it can sit, read, and write the better for the exercise. The pulse rate is restored to normal, quickened breathing slows. Finally a spray, a rub-down, and a change are just as much part of the lesson as the exercises.

But can this obviously sensible programme of selected activities be made enjoyable to all boys, for the second idea is that enjoyment is essential for real benefit? This is a matter where many fail, but it is being more and more successfully dealt with, for although you cannot please all the boys all the time, a good teacher will please most of them all the time and all of them part of the time. This is a fundamental part in the training of teachers. It used to be thought perhaps that an exercise A designed for an age group X with a specific function Q, would have the desired effect, provided the order was given with

sufficient vigour and force. Alas, this superstition still lives in some quarters, but a simple excursion into anatomy will explain one of the fallacies of this view. Suppose we place an arm in a certain position with the aim of contracting strongly one of the muscles of the shoulder group to strengthen it, the best result will come if that muscle works alone, not aided by its neighbours, nor pulling against those muscles that move the arm in the opposite direction, which are known as its antagonists. This isolation of contraction requires a special nerve-muscular technique which the child is to learn. An aggressive, barked command, implying the use of force, commonly produces a very different result from the intended one. The arm goes to the same position but is rigidly held there, not by the isolated muscle, but by its neighbours' as well, and the position is locked by the antagonists' also contracting. If the command is fear-inspiring enough, not only will all the muscles in the area contract, but also those of the whole trunk, fixing the breathing mechanism, the buttocks, the thighs, legs and feet, even perhaps the fingers. The result is a general static muscular contraction, a very tiring and fruitless waste of energy, with no isolation and probably an interference with respiration. A further physiological effect is that the static contraction will interfere with the circulation of the minute blood-vessels in all the muscles concerned and there will be an accumulation of fatigue products, requiring extra oxygen for their oxidation.

The acquirement of a persuasive, an infectiously enthusiastic technique of teaching is the most difficult task of the teacher of gymnastics. It is no argument to say that there must be rigid discipline and that some fear is implied in that. There must be control—yes—but no rigidity and certainly no fear. It is worth noting here that a system of corporal punishment in a school, putting the master-pupil relationship ultimately on a basis of force, interferes seriously with the teaching of gymnastics. A modern gym class may be very noisy at times, at others quite silent and the teacher will control it as a conductor would an orchestra. It is quite possible for a man to take

two hundred boys at once, almost whispering his commands or merely indicating them by a wave of the hand, with perfect discipline and no fear. However, mass gymnastics except for show purposes is obviously undesirable, because no man can watch and correct two hundred people at once. The discipline that is best comes from within each boy, guided and inspired by the teacher.

This sort of teaching is not easy to learn or to carry out; it is far easier to be a martinet and to bellow orders; but a variety of pitch, vigour, humour, and gesture must all be used. Class-room teaching is far easier, as those who have done both know; it is far less tiring. In the gym or on the field the boys are not in allotted places, all corrections must be done on the spot, and there is no pause for the teachers. When educationalists realize this, gymnastic teachers will have the status they deserve.

Some will doubt that even with the good teacher exercises can be made enjoyable. But the modern gymnastic lesson is largely based on movements that are natural, somewhat on the principle of the stretch that we naturally make when we yawn. A small child does automatically many of the movements which we teach to older children; they are instinctive, corrective, and strengthening movements. Watch any playground in an elementary school during the break and the type of movement now used will be seen. A class is not a succession of formal exercises, but a mixture of imaginative movements, rhythmical movements, strong contracting exercises, jumps, running, crawling, games and apparatus exercises often reminiscent of the jungle; for the gym is a jungle substitute where the innate desire to leap, climb, hang, and swing can be fulfilled. Swinging on ropes, an excellent and skilful form of exercise, seems natural to all boys, even those who seem to dislike all other physical activity; it is used too rarely.

The problem of pupils of different standards in the same class is dealt with in the modern lesson by splitting

up into groups of equal achievement for the more difficult parts of the lesson, so that all can work with their peers. An even better solution, used in at least one school, is to grade classes by general physical ability and strength, instead of by mathematical sets or by forms or some other irrelevant calibration. A word should be said on the obsolete system which still persists of letting boys teach each other exercises in small groups during the morning break, generally the whole school together. This system is faulty for two reasons; it is impossible for more than a very small percentage of boys to teach at all successfully, any more than they could teach Latin or Physics—it is quite difficult enough for a trained adult; and it also destroys the nature of the break, which should be a change to informal activity after class work.

What is to be the scientific background to the work? It must be anatomically, physiologically, and psychologically sound. The ultimate aim of gymnastics, in the modern sense, is the development of a highly controlled and responsive nervous system—a system that will let the body relax completely (a test where many adults fail), or that will make it leap into action, simple or complex, with the shortest of reaction times.

A skeleton is an articulated framework of levers, a magnificent creation—that can move a brush like Leonardo, or run like Jesse Owens, to say nothing of such humble accomplishments as tying shoe-laces or carrying soup-plates on a moving train. The bones are moved by muscles, which contract or relax at will or automatically. An eye winks, a footballer kicks, or a heart goes on contracting for three score years and ten—all muscles working. The muscles could not work if it were not for the nerves that by their messages cause a physio-chemical change in each microscopic bundle of muscle fibres. It is not known what controls the nervous system, yet it is educable and it can be taught to work more efficiently; but a certain amount is known of the behaviour and growth of muscles and bones. Research has also shown the effect of exercise upon heart and lungs, the effects of training

at certain given work, the means of building stamina, the causes and cures of fatigue. Advances in medical research, particularly in the field of healthy persons, has given us material and evidence which can be used scientifically in planning physical exercise. The old ideals of huge bulging muscles and of balloon chests have been shown to be false. It is now realized that there are several perfectly sound types of physique that will stand up to the strain of life. The ultimate truth is not known; grave errors may still be made; but the training in the scientific outlook that is now given to teachers, and the research that goes on in laboratories and schools, particularly in America, is making our work more accurate and is making teachers test their work by scientific evidence. For instance, there has been in recent years a cult of extreme flexibility often at the sacrifice of strength, but it is not proved that this is a sound ideal, and the scientific teacher refuses to be stampeded by such cults.

The ultimate test is whether a system fits a body for life, and the performer ideal has only a very small place in modern physical education. Competition is used in moderation as an incentive, but is never a fundamental. Exercises and minor games help to improve performance in the major national games and in athletics; but the main test does not lie in achievements on playing-fields or tracks, but in whether a system produces a stronger resistance to disease, to fatigue, to the aches and pains that come with age and sedentary occupations and also in a sound outlook towards health. Research must be increased, particularly in such matters as the best types of movement, posture, fatigue, muscle tone, and the effects of exercise upon the endocrine glands and vice versa.

Here must be interpolated some statement on the relation of diet to physical education. The teaching of wise eating, the proper care of the digestive system, the working of the body in all its functions and hygienic life are just as important as exercise. In a patent-medicine-ridden country like this there is much to be undone

before national health can be improved. So, too, with the numerous malnourished in town and country—there must be fuel before exercise is going to build health. Of three main sources of energy, there is plenty of oxygen, but many go short of food and sun.

The psychology of physical activities is a comparatively unexplored field for research and much must be done there. When dealing with individual differences, in the next section, some attempt at applying psychological understanding will be shown, but in the larger field of actual research, little is being done. General psychological principles, underlying various types of exercise, physical fears, the effects on character of various games, of physical competition, of over-rapid growth, all need to be discovered. Those who have observed the growth of boys by careful, regular measurements are convinced that there is a connection between the physical and the psychological behaviour of man, between moving and living.¹

There may be connections between disturbances in regularity of growth and disturbances in behaviour—moral and mental. There is some evidence that the physical symptoms in movement may be the first indication of some disturbance in some other sphere. Because a boy vaults less springily than is normal, it may be the sign of an incipient cold that has already affected his nervous system, and which shows in a disharmony of movement. The observant teacher will note and record these things and perhaps, when research has perfected technique, possible disturbances in health or social behaviour will be detected earlier and arrested in the early stages.

This leads to the fourth question, of the emphasis on the needs of the individual. As Dr. Cawadias points out, the pubescent or adolescent body is a very delicate mechanism which can easily be disturbed. The emphasis in life at the age of puberty comes upon the physical

¹ See *Movement and Thought*, by R. E. Roper (Blackie).

changes, in sexual development, and also upon the rate of growth. Disturbances, at this stage in any part of the physical well-being, will probably have effects upon social and mental behaviour, which are inextricably bound up with physical harmony. Rapid uneven growth and weak posture are common in these periods. They do not occur in every child, but in the many in which they do occur each one has his peculiar combination of symptoms of disharmony. Rest and carefully prescribed and regulated movement are the sure way to deal with these matters, which each need individual help.

Some schools are wise enough to have a regular rest period after lunch, when children lie down to sleep, read, or to listen to music or reading aloud; they are convinced of the wisdom of this practice. A growing boy needs a large part of his energy to use his fuel to build on new cells and part to replace outworn ones; this process has to be gone through, as well as all the class-work, play, and routine life of a school. A boy who grows an inch in a term (not a rare phenomenon at puberty) has to build on millions of new cells, of different types and functions. If, as often happens, such a boy loses weight, either steadily, or by the more common technique of gaining in the first half of term and losing in the second half, this means that new cells have been built on at the expense of old ones which have not been repaired or replaced. School routine from 9.0 a.m. to 4.30 p.m., excluding journeys and homework, in a day school, or from 7.0 a.m. to at least 9.0 p.m. in a boarding school is a heavier load of activity than that of many adults. Holidays are a compensation, but the condition of many children returning from boarding schools shows clearly the load they have taken. In any case, the holiday is needed chiefly as a relaxation from learning, a process which is best done in short periods. Growth goes on all the time, and disturbances in posture and energy are more likely to occur in the over-loaded term time than in the holiday period. The means for dealing with these disturbances, a skilled technique, is not available in the holidays, so it must come in as part of school's Physical Education work.

There are some who fear this may lead to molly-coddling or to introspective neuroses on the part of individual children. This might be so if the system of individual treatment were not an accepted part of the whole physical education programme. When it is realized that about fifty per cent of boys do show deviations from the optimum posture for their type of physique, and that only a slightly smaller number show unevenness in their process of growing, it will be seen that the amount of work entailed is so arduous and so widespread that it must be organized as part of the system and can hardly be termed molly-coddling.

The treatment of individual problems is divided roughly into specifically corrective work and modification of the way of life; these two are often inseparable.

To obtain the information that will show individual differences, there must be a thorough system of observation. Children must be weighed regularly at least three times a term, always at the same time of day, wearing nothing or the same minimum of clothing; the former is probably preferable and is possible in most schools where there is a natural attitude towards the body. Besides regular medical inspection of lungs, heart, teeth, ears, eyes, and digestion, there should be also bi-termly inspection of posture, backs, hips, chest flexibility, and height.¹ This may sound frequent, but deviation from good posture occurs very rapidly in growing boys and if it is to be caught in the early stages, twice a term is the minimum number of inspections. The next procedure is treatment. For example, a boy of fifteen is found to have grown half an inch, lost three pounds, and developed a slight lateral curve in his spine, all during the first half of term. Here is a case with fatigue symptoms and the back cannot be put right by vigorous exercises, because the boy will not have the energy to do them well. He needs more rest; an examination of the time-table of his energy expenditure,² a discussion of his problem with others who

¹ See *Physical Education for Boys* (Methuen).

² See *Movement and Thought*.

teach him, with his parents in a day school, with his house-master in a boarding school, will provide the information that will show when the rest would be most beneficial and when it is possible. It may be a question of his going to bed early two nights a week, or perhaps resting during some set period during the day besides the afternoon siesta which is to be expected in any sound school, or perhaps a matter of his missing games on certain occasions; for games, particularly vigorous competitive ones, do not often help the fatigued. There is some adjustment that can be made. In consultation with the other masters it may come out that there has been a falling-off in the boy's work, or that he has got himself a load of punishment recently, or that he has ragged in class, or that there is some emotional disturbance or home circumstance that is not known to the gymnastics master. Such discussions means that for once the individual boy is considered as a whole, not as a person of separate functions, in the class-room, on the field, in the gym, or in social life. It is only by the study of the whole boy, that his problems can be dealt with surely.

A gym master has a particular advantage in being able to note differences in a boy's technique of living, by his ability to observe and feel quality of movement. His eye is carefully trained to note changes in movement; his hands are trained to feel, from the state of contraction of muscles, for instance during vaulting,¹ whether a body is working harmoniously.

Movement is one of the main life functions, and takes up a larger part of life than the brain's functioning in any one other special subject. By observing movement and by measurements, the gym master is in a privileged position for quite often he is the only master who takes all the boys in the school. The theme of the relationship of movement and thought cannot be further discussed here, but the recent long-thought-out book *Movement and Thought* deals very thoroughly with it.

¹ See *Movement and Thought*.

Some boys will not require modification in their timetables, but the matter must be considered before sure results can be expected from corrective exercises alone. The business of corrective exercises is largely technical, but certain points in approach and method should be mentioned. The first problem is to get the confidence of the boy, and the second to make him desire to correct his defect. With those who do not shine at games and gymnastics this confidence is more easily obtained, for two reasons. Unless he is of the type who dislike games absolutely, a rare type, he will be pleased to think that he may improve in his general strength and skill by having a better body; secondly, a little individual attention to a weakling, an interest shown in his movement gives him a confidence in himself. That personal contact—which in the world of physical activity is generally only the prerogative of the budding expert who gets plenty of coaching at cricket or football—means a great deal to the lesser light. Nearly all boys want to have good bodies and to have control of them; even the much maligned æsthete would like to move well, and admires grace and strength of movement. A boy's reactions to corrective work may sometimes be: 'Here is someone who is trying to help me for my own sake, not for the sake of a team.' There is no space here to enter into the psychology of the team spirit, but it is not always what it is made out to be, and even very distinguished players of our national games admit that most of the time a team player is concerned with his own individual glory. There is no personal glory about doing corrective exercises; they require perseverance and patience and often the sacrifice of time and pleasures. The gratitude of a boy who learns some simple new movement, that makes him lighter on his feet, or stronger in chest and back, or increases his wind, is a very striking and wonderful experience.

A person's movements are just as much part of their personality as their speech or their expression. Observe the way people swing their arms when walking; realize how a convincing actor uses every muscle to express personality; we do, unconsciously perhaps, observe the

way people carry their heads when estimating their character; and the person who seems tense and never calm is known to all. Such tenseness is often partly physical, an inability to relax, to be efficient, and often the first stage in dealing with a postural defect is the teaching of relaxation. Next comes isolation of movement, the strengthening of certain muscles, the stretching of others that have too short a habit-length. Lastly comes the synthesis in which the whole body is integrated in standing and walking (and perhaps in more skilled activities), but it must be remembered that these two are skilled activities for many people, until they have become a good habit.

The best results in making movements are often obtained by unconscious effort for some children have not the control to make a corrective movement consciously. For instance, a boy who stoops and cannot feel when he is 'straight', might be asked to walk along a low balance beam. In order to do it neatly he finds that he has to fix his eyes at their own level and hold himself well. In the process of learning to walk the beam, he will, as he improves, be automatically correcting his posture; it can be pointed out that he is holding himself well; it then becomes a conscious action. The remark 'I didn't know I could do that' is and should be a common one in corrective work. It implies a sense of achievement infinitely valuable in the building up of confidence.

The understanding of modern technique of gymnastic teaching has been made difficult for parents, partly because they do not generally look back with joy on the gymnastics they themselves learnt, and partly because much gymnastic work has been done in the wrong spirit, concentrating on shows, displays, and very skilled performance. The majority of boys never will become skilled performers or take part in a display, but that is no reason why they should not enjoy gymnastics. It is quality of movement, of effort, that must be the goal, not a place in a team, or a cup. There is plenty of opportunity for *esprit de corps* in gymnastics, and this is a valuable asset

if used carefully, a curse and a sacrilege if used too often. One reason why the present National Fitness Campaign is having some difficulty is that gymnastics in many minds is connected with compulsion, with tremendous effort, with perpetual press-ups, in fact with an ordeal. That is because there is a lag in the realization of the spirit of the new gymnastics; a modern gym class has no 'jerks', no straining, or complete fatigue. Given normal circumstances, if a man does not feel fresher and more lively at the end of a period, then he has been taught wrongly.

So far gymnastics, games, and athletics have been dealt with. The three are connected, the gymnasium being an excellent preparing ground for the special techniques of the forward or the shot-putter or for any other specialized skill. It must be made clear that gymnastics have not come to displace games, but merely to be the central general activity for improving the body and its movements, by giving it all round non-specialized exercise. Gymnastics can build grace, endurance, and strength, and, perhaps most important of all, adaptability—the ability to take up any physical activity and to enjoy it without strain.

With what other things is Physical Education concerned? Anything that is connected with the bodily life of the individual; the size and design of desks, of beds, the ventilation and lighting of class-rooms, the general health teaching in a school. There are other things, too, which are increasing in prevalence and popularity—hiking, swimming, cycling, the erection of Youth Hostels, Unemployed Camps, woodcraft and camping—which should all have a place in a school's Physical Education programme. Particularly those creative crafts, where something is constructed or made by the hands, are connected with physical education. It has been suggested that all teachers of physical education should learn sculpture. The manual dexterity required in building tree huts, pavilions, or in hewing statues from stone or building them up from clay, is all part of the technique of movement of the individual; for he uses the same nervous system to control his muscles in the craft-room as he does

in the gymnasium. A disturbance in the harmony of nerve technique will show in the craft-room or the gymnasium or both, and may be put right in one or the other, depending whether the trouble is mostly physical or mostly psychological or emotional.

Next must be considered a factor on which there is not enough definite evidence, the æsthetic factor in movement. It has long been considered desirable that girls should become graceful and beautiful in their movements, and costumes and music have, under various systems, been used with this end in view. Miss Margaret Morris has been one of the leading figures in this work.

With boys and men there has not been much similar experiment, partly because gymnastics have been designed by systems whose types of movement—except the most skilled—are very ugly; and partly because there is a general fear that boys would become soft if they were taught to make beautiful movements. In a philistine country that hardly tolerates ballet, this would be understandable, but the real question is—when is movement beautiful? The answer is, when it is efficient and good for the body and thoroughly harmonious. It may be the swerve of a rugby three-quarter, or the turn of a skater, or the jump of a fieldsman to catch a high ball—if it is well done it is generally beautiful. So, too, in the gymnasium, one of the criteria of our exercise must be their beauty.

With this end in view the question of the rhythm of movement and the use of music must be considered. The introduction of rhythmical exercises has certainly done much to improve the beauty of gymnastic work, and also to make it more stimulating and less fatiguing; for life is rhythmical; breathing, heart-rate, walking—many of our functions are rhythmical, and the rhythm of poetry or of music give us a peculiar satisfaction. So rhythmic movement has won popularity in gymnastics. It is not always taught well, it is often sloppy or wrong in speed, but at its best it is beautiful and useful. The use

of music is very rare, but it does seem clear that it improves the quality of movement made—just as marching goes better to a song. The element of dance comes in here and this is a side of physical activities that needs development. Though some of the traditional English dances are lacking in vigour, others are excellent and virile, and perhaps a new dance form will be found, as there seems to be a demand for one. Tap dancing is a skilled type of movement that might well be introduced into gymnastics, but is perhaps too skilled for younger children; although dramatic dancing, and the miming of plays are useful parts of physical education. Some believe that there is in all children an inherent desire to dance and we shall do well when we find a suitable form in which it can be expressed, since physical education shares the ideal of the education of the whole man.

A period has come when the education of the whole man, to live in harmony with himself and with others of his own or other nations, is of the utmost importance. If this work can be done thoroughly there will be real physical fitness; and such fitness will not only make men happier but it will teach them that the slaughter of mankind in war or revolution is the antithesis of true physical fitness and would not exist in a really fit world.

HYGIENE

By PROFESSOR V. H. MOTTRAM

THE CHIEF FACTORS of school hygiene are Food, Fresh Air, Clothing and the Curriculum Vitae, and of these four, food is almost certainly the most important and the most neglected. It has been shown that you may cabin and confine animals almost to the verge of cruelty, stint them of light, air and exercise, and yet, if you feed them well, they will reach a fine maturity. Similarly the physician meets children brought up in slum surroundings who show an unexpectedly fine physical development, and on inquiry discovers that their mother, as the result of being brought up on the land, has practised sound feeding on her offspring. A hygiene which specializes on ventilation, sunlight, and sanitation, but neglects food, frustrates itself.

(a) DIET

Fortunately the main principles of dietetics are easy to understand and practise, and it is easy to put these principles into practice once they are understood. It is only the details which are intricate and require a specialist's knowledge.

Food has three main functions :

- I. To provide energy either in the form of muscular work or of warmth.
- II. To provide material to build the body.
- III. To provide substances to protect the body, especially its more delicate tissues, from disintegration.

It is simplest to speak of these three functions as *body-warming*, *body-building*, and *body-protecting*.

There is little need to elaborate the *body-warming* and *body-building* aspects of food. Everyone is aware that the body loses heat all day long and that this heat must

be replaced. It is replaced by using food as fuel, and the slow combustion of this food in the tissues of the body provides the heat. Moreover, muscular effort entails further consumption of food materials, much as a run of a steam engine requires consumption of fuel. We can include these two aspects of energy production in the term 'body-warming'.

That food *builds* bodies is a platitude, and, of course, nowhere is body-building going on more actively than in the adolescent. The maximum rate of growth for boys is at about 16 and for girls at 15. That the nature of the food is a determining factor of growth-rate is familiar to agriculturists, physiologists, and physicians. The superior growth of the boys in one of our famous public schools when compared with working-class adolescents of the same age—it amounts to about 5 inches in height and 17–22 lb. in weight—is ascribed to their much better feeding from infancy on.

That food *protects* the body from various diseases is a discovery of this century. Though the diseases due to a deficient diet have been known from time immemorial, their causes have only within the last thirty years been accurately established. An example is scurvy, a disease which dogged every Arctic and Antarctic exploration until it was discovered that scurvy is due to the absence from the diet of one, or possibly two, vitamins. Another example is in the disintegration of the delicate coverings of the eye, the mouth, nose, throat, windpipe and passages of the lungs in the absence of another vitamin from the diet, leading to ulceration of the eye, abscesses in the mouth, inflammation of the middle ear and broncho-pneumonia. It is reasonable to call the foods which cure scurvy or ward off these, and other, diseases the protective foods.

Now no one food can fulfil all three functions of food ; in fact it is rare for any one food to be good as a body warmer, a body builder, and a body protector. Cheese¹

¹ Cheese is especially of importance to adolescents, as of all foods it contains much the most bone-forming material.

is the best food for all the three purposes, if one must give an example. So, as might be expected from first principles, are milk and eggs. And so, as can be deduced from their chemical composition are the fat fish (herrings, kippers, bloaters, sprats, sardines, mackerel, and salmon). All other foods serve but one or other function of food and not all three.

The *body-warming* foods are those we buy more particularly from the grocer and the baker, e.g., cereals and anything made from them, fats, sugar, dried fruit and pulses. So breakfast foods, porridge, bread, marmalade, butter, puddings, pastries, cakes, biscuits, and sweets are energy-producing foods. So too are potatoes and dried beans and peas. Nor must we omit bacon and cheese, which fall into the category of body-warming foods because of the fat they contain.

Body-building foods are those we get from the butcher, the fishmonger, and the dairyman. The best are milk and eggs, but meat, fish, and cheese are nearly as good. There is a minimum ration for body-building material below which we must not go, or growth is not at its best.

The *protective* foods will need a rather more careful enumeration. It is not enough to say 'milk, fruit, and vegetables', for unfortunately it is increasingly clear that not *all* fruits and not *all* vegetables are equally valuable for their protective powers. Nor is milk a perfect protective food. It is a poor protection against anæmia, scurvy, and rickets.

The simplest classification of protective food is into three groups :—

- (i) The dairy foods (milk, cream, butter, eggs, cheese).
- (ii) The market-garden foods, such as green vegetables, carrots, tomatoes, watercress, and radishes among vegetables; currants (black, red, and white), gooseberries, loganberries, raspberries and strawberries, and, with a considerable stretch of the term 'market garden', oranges, lemons and grape-fruit among fruits.

(iii) The fat fish, which have been enumerated above.

No one group of the protective foods is sufficient by itself. All three groups must be represented in the diet for satisfactory health, the first two once a day and the third group once (or better twice) a week.

Summing up so far we may say that a sound diet must include :—

- I. Body-warming foods.
 - II. Body-building foods.
 - III. Body-protecting foods
- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(i) Dairy-foods.} \\ \text{(ii) Special market-garden} \\ \text{foods.} \\ \text{(iii) Fat fish.} \end{array} \right.$

An ordinary reader will remark on the number of times milk, butter, eggs, cheese, and the fat fish occur in this statement of the principles of dietetics, and will deduce that these are the foods the dietitian most prizes. He will be right. The caterer will remark that the protective foods are the most costly and most likely to be scamped in a school diet. He will not be entirely right as regards cost. It needs saying again and again that butter is a cheap food *for what you get out of it*, and that milk is cheaper than meat for the same reason. He will be entirely right about the scamping of the protective foods. Most schools, though not all, of the many known to the writer, provide excellent amounts of the body-warming and body-building foods; but very few reach a high standard in body-protecting foods.

The above statement is qualitative only. The anxious parent and the anxious caterer want a quantitative answer. How much of these various commodities make a perfect diet?

Fortunately the best measure of how much is needed of the body-warming material, so long as food is simple, is the appetite. If at all meals there is plenty of bread and sugar, and at breakfast and tea plenty of butter and jam no one will go without sufficient body-warming food. Bread, butter, sugar, and jam *ad lib.* should be the dietary

motto of the progressive school. Fortunately these are among the cheapest foods for energy.

As regards body-building material it is almost sufficient to say that if milk is also *ad lib.*, there is not much need to bother further. A few ounces of meat, or fish or cheese will make up any ration to that required, if one pint of milk per head per day is taken. The ordinary British diet, fortified by one pint of milk per day, gives a good margin of safety as regards body-building material. 'One pint of milk per day' should be added to the dietary motto. Of the protective foods there is already in the diet butter and milk. There are left the green vegetables, the salads, the summer and citrus fruits and the fat fish. If one helping of green vegetables, and one helping of either the salads mentioned or the summer or the citrus fruits be given per day, and a helping of fat fish once or twice a week, the diet should be as near perfect as modern dietetics can make it.

The modern parent is entitled to expect, and the progressive school will give, a diet in which there is no stint of milk, butter, sugar, and jam and in which the other protective foods—green vegetables, special salad vegetables, special fruits, and the fat fish—are well represented. If this is the diet of the school no one need worry whether the potatoes are served in their jackets or not, whether meat is twice cooked or not, whether the bread is whole meal, standard, or white, or whether the vegetables are cooked conservatively, or just boiled and the water in which they were boiled thrown away. In fact the provision of the above diet is a method of supplying from ordinary foods and in a simple, palatable way everything the dietitian or the food faddist can demand.

(b) FRESH AIR

Ever since the discovery that good food and open-air are important in the prevention and cure of tuberculosis, hygienists have tried to find means by which the air in houses, schools, and other institutions can be made

to approximate to that out-of-doors. They have failed as they were bound to fail. The immediate effects of vitiated air of class-rooms and assembly halls, moreover, have been shown both by English and American experimentalists to be due not to the carbon-dioxide exhaled, nor entirely due to the increase of water-vapour in the air, but to the air's stagnancy. If foul air is circulated by a fan, for all intents and purposes it becomes 'fresh' again, for the lassitude, headache, etc., brought on by the 'foulness' of the atmosphere disappear. It does not follow, however, that such circulated foul air is as good as fresh air because it may carry microbes and ensure infection of everyone breathing it.

The problem becomes one of supplying air at such a rate as to keep at bay lassitude, prevent any great concentration of unsuspected microbes, and provide the 'cool head and warm feet' atmosphere essential for mental work. It is a difficult problem. Many and elaborate are the pieces of machinery invented for ventilation and almost everyone who has had experience of them much prefers natural ventilation to artificial. But natural ventilation often means that the persons near the open windows are uncomfortable and therefore cannot work, or their papers blow about and distract, not to mention the distraction of what may be happening outside. Others in their quest for fresh air advocate open-air classrooms, but in this climate it is difficult not to get cold feet in such a place most of the year, and few people can work well when their feet are cold. Moreover the distractions of the open-air are ever so much greater than those indoors. The soundest advice that can be given is to put comfort before strict hygiene, blow through the classrooms every three-quarters of an hour, and *rely on the hours of sleep for fresh air*. For work indoors you require that the air should not be stagnant. For health you require that some part, say one third of the 24 hours, should be spent in the open-air. *Why not at night?*

The whole problem of fresh air for children attending day schools can probably not be solved until air-

conditioning is inexpensive enough to be within reach, and approximated to the variability of open-air ; but in the meantime for boarding schools the provision of open-air dormitories is a possible solution. The young like what they call 'a fug', and they will defeat you nine times out of ten if you try to impose fresh air on them in the daytime. At night, with an open-air dormitory, they cannot.

In this climate such a dormitory needs special design. It should not be a room with large glass windows, for on a rainy night such windows are shut and the dormitory becomes as bad as the old-fashioned bedroom. Moreover glass windows (it should not be necessary to say this but it is) let in light and waken the sleepers at unholy hours in the summer term. The solution of this problem—or rather one solution—is to have two long opposite sides of the sleeping-room shuttered with *two* parallel rows of venetian shutters with the slats in opposite directions, or more simply with frames covered on the inside and out with an open-meshed canvas. Such shutters can be closed on the windward side when it is raining, and though they keep out rain they allow for ventilation. Also they do shut out a great deal of light and make sleep in the light nights of summer possible.

There is still discussion as to whether infection is spread more in the classroom than in the dormitory. In the classroom pupils are usually closer together than in a dormitory, but on the other hand in the dormitory they are together for a much greater length of time. It would seem that the spread of disease depends partly on the length of time of exposure to infection, partly on proximity to the source of infection and partly on the infectivity of the disease. In any case the rapid dilution of the air round an infectious pupil in an open-air dormitory would stop the spread of infection in the dormitories.

One difficulty of the open-air dormitory is dressing and undressing. The open-air dormitory loses much of its value if people have to dress and undress in it. This consideration indicates the difficulty of providing fresh air

in an ordinary dormitory without freezing the occupants when they dress in the morning. The only logical way out of the difficulty is to disassociate dressing-room from sleeping-room, and this is best done by open-air dormitories with warm dressing-rooms attached. Finally, if you sleep in the open-air it does not greatly matter how much time you spend indoors in a stuffy atmosphere in the day.

(c) CLOTHING

If one examines the reasons given for wearing clothes—warmth, protection, decency, custom and decoration—one comes to the conclusion that custom and decoration are the only ones with much foundation. Our predecessors and possibly ancestors in these islands with their woad, the Tierra del Fuegan mother and her babe pictured by Darwin, and Rollier's School in the Sun at Leysin, are evidence that clothes are not essential in maintaining warmth. It can be plausibly argued that clothes promote a sense of indecency; other peoples—Mohammedans, for instance—attach a sense of indecency to exposure of parts of the body which Europeans normally display. It must be custom and desire for decoration which are the main reasons for wearing clothes, and nothing either physiological or ethical. And while one must deprecate the senseless and unphysiological extremes that fashion often dictates in clothing, there is much to be said for the æsthetic appeal.

But this is an article on hygiene. The hygienist asks for clothing which never impedes the physiology of the body and unhesitatingly condemns most of the clothing which is *de rigueur* in preparatory and public schools: the tight starched collar round the neck which impedes the return of the blood from the head to the heart, the flannel shirt and tie, the well fitting waistcoat and coat which impede the movements of the chest in breathing, braces which have much the same effect and long trousers which impede the knees. Even the pullover with shorts held up by a belt, or with the modern 'sports' trousers or

shorts, come under the hygienist's condemnation because of the belt.

There is no doubt that the open-neck shirt and pullover, shorts, stockings, and shoes are a great advance on the Eton collar, waistcoat, freezer, and long trousers of tradition, both in hygiene and æsthetics. Apart from the fact that they do not impede the flow of blood anywhere in the body nor the chest movements in breathing, they leave uncovered fair expanses of the body to light and wind. This last has a beneficial tonic effect on the body by the production of vitamin D in the skin and by exercising the vaso-motor system.

Adolescent males breathe abdominally and adolescent females thoracically, consequently for the utmost freedom boys should wear clothes which hang from the shoulder and girls *might* be permitted to wear belts—the exact opposite of what is the custom even in progressive schools! Possibly the future may evolve for the boys a costume somewhat on the lines of workmen's overalls with short legs, and a loose belt for decorative purposes. Girls' athletic costume is almost ideal for ordinary purposes.

(d) CURRICULUM VITAE, OR THE TIME-TABLE

The task of devising a school time-table, difficult as it always is, becomes more complex still when it has to meet the demands of the hygienist. A certain modicum of work is demanded even of the progressive school (say 6 hours per day). Into the remaining 18 hours have to be fitted sleep (most important), rest after meals (also important,) meals (which should not be hurried), time for details of the toilet apart from dressing and undressing, hobbies (most essential), exercise in the fresh air, remedial and otherwise; school chapel, and, finally, games. Recently the dietitian has made things still more complicated by demanding that there shall be no mental work or physical exercise whatever before breakfast, and recommending that there be five meals a day—three main meals and two smaller meals at the midpoint in time between the large meals and consisting preferably

not of doughnuts, jam tarts, and sweets (so beloved of the tuck shop) but of protective foods—see section (a). (The hygienist views the school tuck shop with grave disapproval and hopes to see it abolished.) Muscular efficiency, and probably mental efficiency, are at their lowest ebb before breakfast and fall again to a low level some three hours after a meal, and if there is a period of $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours between meals, as is common in schools, the last $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours' work, physical or mental, are done under conditions of inefficiency and strain.

Sleep.—Until the experimental psychologists work out the effects of different lengths of hours of sleep at different ages only indifferent guesses at the requisite amounts can be given. The largest education authority in this country asks for 9 to 10 hours for children of 12—14. This is not excessive. (That most dynamic man, Mr. Gladstone, confessed to liking ten hours' sleep.) For adolescents 10 hours is not too much. And if a boy or girl finds difficulty in getting up in the morning one ought to suspect ill-health or insufficient sleep.

Rest after Meals.—This is not so necessary after breakfast, but after the midday meal a half-hour's rest is advisable, best lying down. Most young people show no immediate ill effects of violent exercise immediately before or after a meal, but there is plenty of evidence that it slows digestive processes in the young adult at the University, and one suspects that what is true at 19 to 22 is true at 14 to 19. The meals should not be hurried. When rest after a meal is enforced, or when pupils are not allowed to leave the dining hall before a certain time is up there is less incentive to hurry in eating, though, alas, boys, and possibly girls, gobble their first serving in the hopes of getting a second. This needs discouragement, but now, the hygienist is fortunately not called upon to say. There is an obvious method!

Exercise.—The well and correctly fed animal exercises itself instinctively. Why do some of the young human animals not do so? Is it due to a damaged psychology, to ill health, or a lack of instinct? Until these questions

are answered for each individual the hygienist is loath to support compulsory exercise. Remedial exercises for specified individuals—yes; so long as the specific reasons are explained to each individual *and you obtain his co-operation*. The best that can be said for compulsory physical exercise is that it opens up parts of the lungs which otherwise might not be ventilated and gets the circulation going. It also usually is taken in the fresh air, but as we have already said fresh air can be most easily obtained in the open-air dormitory.

Games.—The problem of games, compulsory or not, is not a problem of the hygienist, but for the psychologist who may well ask why we British work at games and play at work. The hygienist remarks that cricket gives one a good deal of rest, or relative rest, in the open air, but by no means exercises the whole of the body. So too with goal keeping in Association football. And if he were asked which games give the maximum exercise for most parts of the body he would have to say Rugby football, fives, squash rackets and lawn tennis. Cycling and walking give little for the arms to do.

The hygienist is tempted to condemn wholeheartedly physical activities into which the competitive spirit in any way enters, just so long as growing bodies remain (and they must always of necessity so remain) unlike machines, variable in strength and structure. The competitive spirit leads those with less well developed bodies to strain and over-tax them in a way which is completely undesirable, and, in many cases, actively harmful.

To sum up, the hygienist would like to see a complete overhaul by nearly all schools—a few progressive ones would seem to have begun already—of the hitherto accepted traditions and values, concerning the subjects of Diet, Fresh Air, Clothing, and the Curriculum Vitae.

THE PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MAN

(FROM BIRTH TO MATURITY)

By A. P. CAWADIAS

MEDICINE OF THE future is what is called 'constitutional' medicine. This means that it centres on study of the individual structure and make-up, the harmonious co-operation of the organs of the body and the various growth-determining factors. It attempts to discover and correct disturbances early. Hence, it is 'preventive' medicine in the truest sense. Early correction of abnormal functioning of the organs of our body, based on exact knowledge of man's development, prevents most diseases. This prevention of later disturbances represents an aim which physicians have in common with educators.

Of all living beings man shows the longest period of development. The complete adult state is attained in twenty years, whereas in the highest or man-like apes it is reached in about ten years, in the horse in three years, in the dog in about twelve months. Thus man has a much longer active period of learning than any other animal; and this is a feature of his superiority, for during his lengthy development he can come nearer perfection than any other living creature.

GENERAL MECHANISM OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

At his origin man is represented by a single cell, the fertilized ovum. This cell is already integrated by an inner force; it is this mysterious force that produces development. This creative force is aided, and under abnormal circumstances impeded, by the function of several organs of our body. The normal course of development is dependent on the harmonious co-operation of these factors, whereas disharmony leads to various forms of abnormal growth.

The two most prominent of these factors are the nervous system and the so-called 'glands of internal secretion', briefly termed 'endocrines'. They are comparatively small organs which secrete their products directly into the blood; hence their name. Intensive study of their function in recent years has revealed that they are most important regulators of metabolism, *i.e.*, the process by which food is transformed into the substance of our body. Some of these glands are largely responsible for growth and development, particularly during puberty. The best known of them are the thyroid gland and the sexual glands (testicles and ovaries).

These glands deserve our special interest because they have helped modern medicine to one of its greatest triumphs. We have first of all learnt how many of the typical disturbances of normal growth are due to insufficient or excessive function of one or several of these glands. On the basis of this knowledge, supported by experimental work in laboratories, we are now in the position to influence the function of some of these glands, by stimulating insufficiency and reducing excess. This opens new vistas for treatment of all sorts of developmental abnormalities; the results already obtained are most satisfactory and promise further progress. This kind of treatment is the great support physicians can offer to educators, as many—of course, not all—problems in childhood and the early stages of puberty are due to abnormal physical development. Thus constitutional treatment supports educational efforts as well as psychotherapy.

Besides the more or less healthy condition of the body, the *environment* in which the child lives is the other factor which influences the development. By environment we mean the world at large and all the various influences it exercises upon the child's body and mind.

Study of the physical aspect of development, which cannot be separated completely from the mental aspect, entails consideration of the various stages into which this development can be divided.

For reasons of space, and in accordance with the scope of this book, only development after birth will be considered here; but it should be remembered that the real first stage of life is the intra-uterine phase, *i.e.*, that which begins with conception and ends with birth. Development of the human being at this stage has recently been well studied, with the practical outcome of systematic antenatal care. The right environment for the developing embryo, through suitable care for the physical and mental well-being of the mother during pregnancy, is important. In the subsequent stages of life considered in this chapter the ages given are approximate, and only the male is considered. The stages of development differ for the female.

FROM BIRTH TO 7TH YEAR (INFANTILE STAGE). FAMILY EDUCATION PHASE

This stage is often divided into two: *early infancy* which ends at $2\frac{1}{2}$ years of age and is marked by the end of the first dentition; and *late infancy*, which extends from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 years. During this stage the body develops rapidly in weight and bulk. At birth the height is about one foot eight inches and weight about seven pounds. At the end of the period of infancy, *i.e.*, at the seventh year, height is about three feet ten inches and weight three and a half stone.

With the increase in height there occurs a change of proportions. At birth the head is very large in relation to the rest of the body, representing one-fifth of the whole stature. The legs are very small, the lower segment (pubis to soles of feet) being half the upper segment (pubis to top of head). At the seventh year the lower segment is about two-thirds of the upper segment, and the head appears relatively smaller. Development of tissue proceeds, but less actively than before birth. The appearance of teeth is one manifestation of this development or 'differentiation', another being hardening of the bones. This differentiation proceeds in all organs, that of the constituents of the central nervous system being the

most important. The capacity for reacting to all kinds of irritants and stimuli also develops, especially the capacity for using the muscles in order to move the limbs. At birth there are some inco-ordinate movements of the limbs; at the sixth month the infant can turn from back to stomach; at the thirteenth month it can crawl alone; at the eighteenth it can walk. At the end of early infancy, *i.e.*, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, walking and movements are well developed, and from that time onwards the child 'plays.' The intellectual functions develop slowly. Development of speech is the most striking manifestation at its commencement.¹

The essential features of development in the infantile stage have been given in simple detail. There are precise data on the stage of development at the various stages, by which the physician can recognize whether the child is developing well or not. Constitutional endocrine investigation is unfortunately not often used at this stage. Parents send their children to the dentist for examination of the teeth, but not to the internist or the endocrinologist for assessment of the general development. This is unfortunate because certain disturbances of development point to definite disturbances of some glands, and these troubles should be corrected for the avoidance of more serious conditions.

It is important to allow the child to develop normally and not to force it. Development is of course helped by suitable climate and diet. All conditions of faulty hygiene, and particularly of unsuitable diet, act on the nervous and endocrine system and disturb development; and as disturbance at the infantile stage affects the proper formation of the brain cells, among other things, the importance of placing the child in a good environment is obvious.

¹ The endocrines that direct this phase of development are the thymus, the eosinophil anterior pituitary and the thyroid. The eosinophil part of the anterior pituitary also directs growth, through secretion of the growth hormone. The thyroid directs tissue differentiation. The thymus is probably the most important functioning gland during this period through the growth hormone (thymocrescin) that it secretes and through another hormone that inhibits the gonadotropic hormone of the anterior pituitary. It thus allows growth to proceed unchecked, for gonadotropic and somatotrophic or growth functions are antagonistic.

The mechanism of development at this stage shows also that the child must not be forced. There must be neither gymnastics nor violent games, but only 'play'. *Late infancy*, from 2½ to 7 years, is the age of play. Any physical strain disturbs the delicate mechanism of development.

Regarding intellectual education, care must be taken to avoid anything strenuous. The delicate process of development of the brain must be respected. Infant prodigies pay later for their activities by an arrest of intellectual development. Although there are racial variations, systematic intellectual education should never begin before the seventh year. This rule, at which English educationists have arrived by experience, is in conformity with the laws of biology.

However, the mental environment needs attention. At this stage the subconscious mind of the infant develops. A suitable family environment, pleasant surroundings, beauty around the child, do much for the later mental life. Long before Freud, Dr. Louis Waldstein of New York emphasized this point.

FROM 7TH TO 12TH YEAR (JUVENILE STAGE). EARLY SCHOOL PHASE

The onset of the *juvenile* stage is marked by the 'seventh year crisis', which has not yet been thoroughly studied, and is manifested simply by occurrence of the second dentition and by a certain acceleration of growth in height. The juvenile stage is also a stage of progressive development. The physical stature of the child increases slowly and progressively after the seventh year spurt. In the seventh year the height is about four feet, the weight three stone five pounds. At the end of the juvenile stage in the twelfth year the height is about four feet nine inches, the weight about five stone seven pounds. The proportions also are modified. At the beginning of this stage the upper segment of the body is four inches greater than the lower; at the end of the stage the segments are equal.

Formation of tissues seems to have slowed down to a great extent at the end of the infantile stage, but certain centres of bone-development continue to appear. The genital organs show very little growth and in general the function of the testicles continues in abeyance. The muscular system also fails to show any intensive development. Formation of the cerebral cells seems to have reached an advanced state. Development at this stage is governed by the endocrines predominant in the infantile stage, thymus, pituitary, and thyroid.

The seventh-year crisis imposes the need for caution. The seventh year is one of the critical periods of life, during which a careful constitutional-endocrine examination should be performed. All crises are crises of the nervous and glandular system. Those who possess an adequate neuro-endocrine system weather them well, whereas those with neuro-endocrine inferiority may lay the foundation of more severe disturbance later on.

The practical implication of the arrival of the juvenile stage is this: that cerebral differentiation has made sufficient progress for real intellectual education to begin. It is in conformity with biological findings for boys to go to school at this stage. But that school education should not now be *forced* is also obvious from our recognition of the progressive physical development of the brain.

As the muscular system is not notably developed as yet, violent gymnastics and sports at school run counter at this stage to the laws of biology. The important points in the physical education of juveniles at this period are the development of good posture and the development of harmony and precision in movement. To the biologist the Margaret Morris system seems the ideal form of physical education during this juvenile period.

FROM 12TH TO 14TH YEAR (PUBERTY)

Puberty is one of the most important crises, or 'changes of life', in human development. It marks the passage from the juvenile to the adolescent period of life. It is the crisis

that results in the supremacy of the testicles. Clinically it can be described in two phases: a long initial phase designated 'pre-puberty', and a short climax marked by occurrence of the first erection and ejaculation.

Pre-puberty is characterized essentially by definite physical changes. The most striking is the great spurt in the development of height. The average increase between the twelfth and fourteenth year is five to six inches. Growth, however, is unequal. It occurs principally in the limbs. The thorax remains narrow, hence the absolute necessity of avoiding strenuous sports at this phase, in which heart and lungs cannot function adequately in the narrow thorax. The growth of the viscera also shows a certain spurt, but they are slow to find their endocrine equilibrium. Hence the dyspepsia of schoolboys, accentuated by unsuitable diet. Liver and kidneys show a certain frailty.

The reactivity, particularly in the motor functions, develops rapidly and intensively. This is the phase in which muscular growth is marked. This is essentially a male feature, a sexual characteristic; the function of man is to protect and provide for the family, and in hunting for food he developed his muscular system. He is essentially a muscular animal, and the increase of muscular development during pre-puberty shows the beginning of the function of the testicles. Muscular energy and co-ordination of muscle control increase rapidly. Muscular characteristics, begin to show themselves, notably in the boy's general attitude in play. Genital functions and organs develop, but only slightly.

In the brain there occur greater changes. Deliberateness of thought is noted. Learning becomes a more speedy process, and the boy grasps with avidity knowledge concerning any new line of thought. He is born to social life. The juvenile is shut into himself; the boy at puberty turns his mental life outwards to his social environment. He discovers that he is a member of a community. Big problems emerge: the choice of a career, bread winning,

the problem of love, and, for many, religious problems. Mental puberty precedes physical. Tenderness and altruism begin before the physical urge; there is a distinct wave of emotionality. Pre-puberty is the real phase of '*Sturm und Drang*'. In normal boys it passes without much disturbance. In those whose endocrines do not function well, severe constitutional disturbances may occur.

This phase, corresponding (in the case of those who attend them) to the end of the preparatory school education and sometimes to the first year of public school, must be watched with care. Development of the muscular system stimulates boys to more violent sports. The sense of competition grows naturally, its development before that phase being artificial and due to wrong principles of education. In the regulation of this development the educator and the physician must co-operate in order to avoid excess and consequent harm. At this stage education of physical skill should be stressed. Careful hygiene is necessary because of the possible disturbances of heart, lungs, digestive organs and liver in pre-puberty.

Mental education, however, is the most important element. We should regulate the tendency to frittering of intellectual activity that occurs as an exaggeration of the awakening of the male intellect, and principally we must control excessive emotionality, resulting from discovery of the collective environment, of secrets, of love, the phenomenon so striking in some cases that Plato called it 'spiritual drunkenness'.

This is the phase that needs supervision for constitutional disturbances, as it is the real test phase of human development. A retardation in growth, if not corrected, will result in a more or less accentuated dwarfism. Excessive growth, unfortunately more difficult to control, results in gigantism. Disturbances of the genital organs have serious consequences on the ultimate physical and mental development. A deficient function of the thyroid gland may show itself at pre-puberty, and result in laziness, apathy, difficulty in learning.

The climax of puberty occurs towards the fourteenth year and is manifested by the first erections and ejaculations. In pre-puberty the various endocrines seem to push the body to complete development, but towards the climax of puberty the testicles assert their domination over all other glands.

FROM 14TH TO 17TH YEAR (POST-PUBERAL ADOLESCENT STAGE). PUBLIC SCHOOL STAGE

The climax of puberty is the climax of the '*Sturm und Drang*' phase. After that comes a much calmer period, at all events in normal development. The following are the essential features of development at this phase :—

(1) Growth of the body becomes generally slower but the muscles develop intensively. This indicates that in education at this stage muscular development should be promoted. It is the age of powerful physical exercise and sport.

The male appearance becomes more pronounced, the weight increases, the thorax widens, the typically male hair-growth develops. At about 14½ years of age pubic hair appears; about six months later axillary hair is noted. This growth of hair continues up to the seventeenth year, when it ceases. The progress of its growth is a good index of the progress of general development during maturity. At 13½ the voice breaks. A soprano is the pre-puberal voice, the voice of the sexually undeveloped man, and remains as such in women. In man a tenor timbre comes first (also an incomplete sexual development), and finally the real male voice, most frequently baritone or bass, emerges.

(2) The genital organs and functions develop rapidly. This development must be carefully watched because it is at this stage of life that sexual disturbance may manifest itself for the first time. In this case it is necessary to intervene with medical therapeutic measures. This control and supervision may be rightly taken as an essential part of sexual education.

(3) Full development of the brain tissue has been achieved, and the adolescent is now fully capable of acquiring all knowledge necessary in the battle of life. Learning should be strongly stimulated, therefore. There is no longer the fear of straining an imperfectly developed brain and mind. Further, we have no longer to deal with an organism in process of intensive physical development to be sheltered from all undue strain.

(4) From experimental studies and observations of patients, we have learned that the external or 'peripheral' part of the brain produces the intelligence, whereas the centre of emotionality is located in the middle of the brain.¹ This middle part is in its entire function subject to the inhibitory control of the peripheral, and this fact provides the biological reason why our intellect is able to control our emotions. Thus an unusually intense emotionality means (or proves) that the intellectual centre is failing to control the emotional. Speaking in biological terms, development of human personality means an ever-increasing controlling influence from the peripheral over the middle part of the brain. This process is in full swing during the phase in which maturation is beginning. From this we may conclude that the leading idea of traditional public school education, the mastering of emotions, helps nature and is biologically sound.

(5) Virility increases. Originally, as we have said, man was the protector of the family, the hunter for food, the fighter. The virile intellectual feature of creative work, in opposition to the feminine intellectual feature of imitative work, develops out of that original purpose of man. Education should favour establishment of this mental structure. The power of creative work should be stimulated. The competitive spirit should be encouraged. This stage of education is education for fight. 'I have known man, and he is a fighter' (Nietzsche).

FROM 17TH TO 21ST YEARS (LATE ADOLESCENT STAGE)

This period is an unbroken continuation of the preceding phase. Growth slows down even more

¹ Anatomically, the diencephalon.

markedly, but weight increases. Physical and mental features develop more emphatically. This period corresponds to the University period. At the end of this stage the individual is a complete man. He has reached the summit from the morphological, intellectual, and reproductive (genital) points of view. The twenty-first year is also one of the critical stages of life. If at that age development has not proceeded normally the whole life will be hampered by disease, which is a manifestation of failure to adapt oneself to, or resist, various external influences.

VARIATIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

Variations of development depend on variation of the original developmental impulse in the growing organism and on variations of environment. Some individuals are born with an imperfect developmental impulse; this inferiority is transmitted through heredity. There are other individuals in whom a more or less normal primary impulse is modified by environment. Abnormal health conditions in the mother act adversely on the child in her womb. The results of these conditions, as well as of imperfect growth impulse, are the constitutions termed 'degenerative', from which deep constitutional diseases may derive later in life.

In a third group of individuals the developmental impulse is more or less normal, but various adverse conditions of environment (infections, intoxications, metabolic disturbances of the mother, metabolic disturbances in the child himself, meteorological factors, malnutrition, faulty hygiene acting direct on the individual) interfere with and hinder the normal development of the child. Variations of development may lie within the range of mild differences from normal standards, and from the different structural types, or 'biotypes'. Other variations are remote from normal standards and are real deviations, consisting in pronounced constitutional diseases.

The purpose of this simple delineation has been to show the importance of thorough investigation of the

constitution during the childhood and adolescence of the developing man, and the need for timely correction of such disturbances. A slight lack of balance in the various growth-determining factors is easily corrected if diagnosed early, but if neglected can lead to serious consequences.

PERSONALITY

By OSWALD SCHWARZ

(a) THE NORMAL CHILD

(1)

THERE IS NO doubt that our age is psychological-minded. We may ask why. The answer, I think, is that we are living in a state of steadily increasing inner and outer insecurity, and therefore look upon science as our saviour. But this pious credulity creates a somewhat peculiar situation, rather like setting the fox to take care of the geese; for there can be little doubt that this breathless progress in all, and particularly in the technical sciences, is itself mainly responsible for our insecurity, at any rate for that of our outer life. And the same is true of psychology, the science of our inner life. The rapid, almost incredible, development of psychology at the turn of the century, and the eagerness with which its message was absorbed by the public, led to promises impossible of fulfilment, and to all kinds of unavoidable exaggeration and misinterpretation. Hence a great increase of general uncertainty, to the mutual disadvantage of those who bore the message and those who received it. It is only recently that more sober counsels have prevailed.

But why are we inwardly insecure? It is widely held that it is because we have lost our instincts by the progressive denaturalization of our life. If this is true (although to my mind we have lost not so much our instincts, as all faith) it would be a forlorn hope to expect from psychology a remedy for this deplorable state of affairs. For psychology is anything but a substitute for missing instincts or lack of common sense. On the contrary, the proper use of psychological knowledge presupposes a great deal of common sense, and books on psychology should be read only by sensible people.

Psychology aims at giving us the fullest possible knowledge of all the facts of our inner life and the essential trends behind those facts, which weld them together into the unity called human life. Thus, watching carefully the stream of life, its source and direction, we are in a position to discover and define the essential aim from which it derives its dynamic force. In this, psychology approximates to philosophy and religion, and co-operates with them, but as a science it always remains quite distinct, and divorced from these activities. It is a natural science, based on experience, observation, and experiment; it deduces and abstracts its statements from observation, and never imposes any preconceived theory or creed upon facts.

If a man achieves this essential aim of life, we call him normal; if he fails, he is abnormal. A special branch of modern psychology—medical psychology—tries to discover the reasons for this failure and to deal with them. Taking all in all, we may say: *Psychology discovers the facts of our inner life, designs a scheme of normal life, prevents and corrects deviations from this normal route.*

(2)

Thus prepared and warned, we may ask our first question: What is a normal child? This simple question already implies a great many problems, chief among which is the complete lack of agreement on the concept of normality in general. Perhaps no general solution of this problem is possible, because the idea of normality necessarily varies according to the standpoint from which one views the phenomena, the normality of which is in question.

If, for instance, one asks parents to describe a normal child, most of them would probably say that a normal child is one who gives no trouble at home, whose school reports are satisfactory, who involves no undue expense, and so on. A school-master would call a child normal if he complies with school discipline, is good at games or Latin, does not ask too many questions, or asks ones that are neither too

silly nor too clever, and so on. From their own point of view the parents and masters are right, but such definitions of normality are obviously open to a great many objections. For example, it is difficult for a child to give no trouble at home to a troublesome mother, to satisfy the exaggerated expectations of a too-ambitious father, to comply with senseless discipline, or not to ask questions if he is badly taught. Everybody can see at once where these parents and masters fail; and these are admittedly trivial examples. But petty as they are, they nevertheless illustrate the weakness of a widely held conception, namely the interpretation of normality as compliance with certain standards. The question remains: Where do these standards come from?

There are many answers to this vexed question, but we will discuss the two extremes. One resorts to tradition, common sense, practical necessity, etc.—very doubtful and insecure foundations; the other relies upon statistics. Here the statistical average constitutes normality. The value of statistics is everywhere recognized, but so are its fallacies, and the erroneous conception that anything above the average is abnormal, and therefore wrong, has done much harm in public and private life. The idolization of mediocrity, which these two theories, totally different in other respects, have in common, matches ill with the spirit of modern education.

Biology views and solves the problem of what is normal from quite a different angle. An organism is normal, if it is capable of adjusting itself to changing conditions. Hence we may say that the normal man is the one who can face and conquer life's various hardships. The idea is a healthy one, although one may dislike the suggestion, lurking round the corner, of the 'survival of the fittest', and be slightly suspicious of such an unconcernedly practical standpoint. But for our purpose, there is a good deal of truth in this principle: It is common knowledge that environmental influences play a large part in the development of the child's personality, but it is undoubtedly incorrect to blame environmental influences

for whatever may be wrong with the child. It was a decisive step forward when psychologists emphasized the fact that there are no such things as ideal conditions, and that everyone in charge of children has faults, and therefore makes mistakes. All children are necessarily exposed in some way to educational shocks, but the majority come through all right. Biologically speaking, a normal child should be able to 'adjust himself to changing conditions', regardless of whether the change is for better or worse. Too great susceptibility and vulnerability only prove that a child is not quite normal. But we will return to this delicate question later.

We have casually discussed several definitions of normality. We see that each has its merits, although none covers the whole ground. Therefore the most up-to-date branch of psychology, called 'Wholistic Psychology', has evolved a quite different conception of normality. *An individual is normal if he achieves the essential aim of life.* Any feature or capacity is normal if, and in so far as, it serves this purpose. But what is the essential aim? Careful analysis of a large and complex mass of material, collected in biographies, diaries, histories of patients, has shown it to be work, achievement, creation—in a word, enriching the world. In the biological sphere we are creative by producing a child. That is real production, and the term 're-production' is inaccurate in every respect. In the spiritual sphere we are creative by producing a piece of work. But we are not isolated individuals; we are always and essentially part of a community. To create a child is not only in itself a biological, but also a social act, and love is the social aspect or facet of our spiritual creative power. To love and to do creative work is to accomplish the aim of human life. *Thus to be able to love and to do creative work is the characteristic of normality.* To help to develop these capacities is the true task of education.

(3)

So far so good. But how are we to know whether any particular child, in whom we are interested, possesses

these capacities, and if so, in what degree? How are we to know whether he is well on the road to proper development? This confronts us with the most difficult problem of all, that of gauging personality, and here psychology is still far from a solution. In ordinary life, by intuition, instinct, or experience, we often realize at first sight, in a flash, what a person is like. It is extremely difficult to convey these impressions in words. We often resort to metaphors, describing a personality perhaps as rich, radiant, brilliant, ponderous, dull, insignificant, and so on. In certain cases an evaluation may be independent of, or contradictory to, some apparent characteristic. For instance, we may say: 'I cannot help feeling there is something in this child, don't you think so? And experienced man will rely on this instinctive sense of fairness and feel encouraged to unearth this valuable nucleus from among the debris of unpleasant or morbid features. In other cases, the pleasing façade may be misleading and one feels at once it would be a case of Love's Labour's Lost to look for more behind this façade. But in our practical work we cannot rely exclusively on intuition, and fortunately psychological science can offer us support. Intuition and science cannot dispense with one another: intuition alone may be over-generous, whereas science without inspiration is liable to be mean. The only way in which science can prove intuitive impressions is by dissecting the wholeness or unity of the personality and describing and measuring the isolated parts.

Child- or Developmental-Psychology (to turn to the part of psychology with which this essay is chiefly concerned) has isolated various elements, which may be summarized in two groups, which are distinctly different.¹ The first group contains those characteristics usually termed 'individual traits', or 'personality' or 'character traits'. They are inherited and invariable, and therefore not taking part in the child's development; some of them are noticeable already in tiny babies. The other group consists of capacities, characteristic in that they are only

¹ The ensuing description of Child-Development follows closely the lines of Professor Charlotte Buhler's research at the University of Vienna.

latent in the small child, and appear and develop gradually from birth to maturity. The latter group has gained predominance in recent years so much that the terms 'child-psychology' and 'developmental-psychology' are used almost synonymously.

This accounts for our comparatively limited knowledge of the former group. Among the few individual traits we know, we will mention the most important. First of all Temperament: From time immemorial four kinds of temperament have been differentiated, the sanguine, the choleric, the phlegmatic, and the melancholic. Next comes Tempo, or Speed: A child may be naturally slow or agile, physically as well as mentally. We shall see later how these different kinds of tempo account for many of the troubles of life. Other traits are Phantasy (which can be tested as early as six to eight months), Perseverance, Initiative (which can be tested from six months onwards) and Mobility. It is amazing that from six months onwards the social character of a child should be apparent. When brought together, one baby will make overtures to another or seize its toys, another will passively endure advances and attacks, while a third will play happily by itself, disregarding other children. Other individual traits appear gradually, as they become necessary, during childhood and youth. Such are: accuracy, precision, courage, honesty, ambition, industry; also special endowments, such as talent for music, mathematics, languages, drawing, technical skill, etc., and last in time, but not least in importance, the attitude towards sex, implying a greater or lesser need for sexual satisfaction, emotionally and physically.

In addition to these, there are many other traits: the point is, which of them is normal? To what extent should a trend be manifest in a normal child? Which may a child lack, and yet be normal? There is no answer to such questions, at least none with any pretensions to accuracy. In a concrete case, anything one may say is hardly more than guess-work. Perhaps the only applicable abstract principle is that of proportion. It may, for

instance, be quite a normal trait to dislike Yorkshire pudding or Latin grammar, but a strong aversion to these or other equally harmless objects must arouse suspicion. To be indifferent to the delights of cricket might pass for normal in a boy who is not English, but it would be most unusual in an English boy. And so on and so forth. Generally speaking, normal, both in kind and degree, is a trait which enables its owner to fit into this kind of life, designed for him by those circumstances and factors which shape our fortunes. Put in a nutshell: Common Sense 'rules the waves'.

The scene changes entirely when we turn to the other group—the capacities dependent on age. Here modern Child-Psychology has won its greatest triumphs, and Common Sense dethroned has been replaced by scientific clarity and accuracy. The variety and variableness of individual traits give way to cast iron laws, to which everyone must submit, and intuition is replaced by knowledge of these laws. A soothing sense of security pervades this sphere. A careful and meticulous study of child-development has shown that it consists of a series of developmental stages, continuous and invariable, each conditioned by its predecessor, and each attached to a definite age. Every child has to go through these changes in their proper sequence, irrespective of the place of his birth, the civilization which has reared him, the colour of his skin, or the social standing of his parents. This is a universal law, and so inexorable that it is equalled only by the laws of physics.

The dissecting skill of child-psychology has proved that there are five capacities to be taken into account in order to gain full insight into a child's developmental condition: mastery of the body, the manipulation of material, learning (memory), abstract intelligence and social behaviour. Thousands of painstaking observations have provided us with an accurate knowledge of what children of every age should be capable of in each of these five departments. A task which we know a child of a given age should be capable of, is termed a 'test'. By testing a child we

are able to say accurately whether he has reached his 'age-level', that is to say, whether he is normally developed. Charlotte Buhler, for instance, uses twelve tests for each year.

A few examples may illustrate this technique. Up to the age of seven months a child can hold in his hand only one thing at a time; from seven months onward he should be able to hold something in each hand. At eleven months he tries to fit one thing into another, from eighteen months onwards to put one object on top of another, and so on. By the age of five he ought to understand what it is to win or lose a game, or be willing to perform an uninteresting task. At nine he should be able to draw a pattern he has been shown ten minutes before, and between eleven and twelve to sketch a diagram of the school room—a test of practical intelligence. To remember ten figures is a test of verbal memory at thirteen or fourteen. And so on.

Unfailing accuracy for these developmental test-diagnoses unfortunately can be claimed only for the first twelve years. After that the individual traits come increasingly to the fore. The quality of a performance is more important than the simple fact that this or that test could be performed, and the ever-growing complexity of the child's personality makes the testing of isolated capacities and qualities more artificial, and correspondingly questionable in diagnostic value. So-called character-tests replace more and more developmental tests. Tests of this kind are used by vocational or industrial psychologists.

To draw a full-sized picture of the normal child, that is to say, to describe all he ought to be, to know, to be able to do, would mean copying a whole text-book of Child Psychology. It must here suffice to outline briefly the two most important trends of child-development: work and love.

(4)

The main element in a child's life, at any rate up to school age, is play. A great deal of effort has been devoted

to the study of child-play, with the result that we now fully realize the outstanding importance of this activity. And it is by no means an exaggeration to say that a child who has not learnt to play properly will find great difficulty in learning how to work.

By 'playing' we mean an activity where the stress lies on the process, on the *doing* as such, where no result is intended and therefore no essential result emerges. A playing child piles up bricks indefinitely, fills receptacles with masses of sand, covers innumerable sheets of paper with his scribbling, and so on. 'Working' is the deliberate effort to create something new. Here the activity no longer consists of mere doing, but is entirely directed by the intended result; it is premeditated and designed, and comes to an essential end when the result is obtained.

Between the age of $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 6, play gradually changes into work. There are of course many intermediary stages, the chief of which are as follows: The child becomes aware of the unintentional effect of his play, e.g. to observe that blocks piled one upon the other do not collapse. Then he gives this product a name. 'This is a house,' he says. Finally he becomes proud of his accomplishment. 'Look here, look what I have done!'

Sooner or later, but inevitably, in every nursery, between the ages of $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 5, a scene like this takes place: The child is absorbed in his play; the mother asks him to do something else, e.g., to go with her for a walk, but the child answers, 'Wait a moment, I must finish this *first*.' Many an inexperienced mother takes this for disobedience or even obstinacy. How mistaken she is! In reality this inconspicuous incident, those few words of refusal, signify a peak of development almost unsurpassed in importance. The words 'I must finish this first' actually mean, 'It must be—or wants to be—finished.' In other words, the child discovers for the first time a kind of demand which the work itself imposes on him, a demand which he willingly accepts, fulfils, and to which he submits. In this demand we easily recognize what we call 'duty', and so the simple product of play-work has now

acquired the characteristic of a 'task', inasmuch as 'task' means 'there is something which must be done', and 'duty' means 'I have got to do it.' This moment is the birthday of the ethical sense. The child has grasped that there is an intrinsic command from without, and a response in himself which makes him accept and obey it.

The far-reaching importance of this step in our development can hardly be over-emphasized, as all the elements in our capacity for work, *e.g.*, interest, concentration, pursuing an aim, overcoming difficulties, etc., are its ultimate outcome. Only one example need be given. An extensive investigation has shown that 80 per cent of junior school-children who failed to pass the first grade, did so because they had not acquired this work-attitude during their play-development before coming to school. From the theoretical point of view it is important to note that the child has quite spontaneously made this discovery at a certain stage of his maturation, that the notion of duty and of a task is a genuine product, a genuine manifestation of child-growth, in fact, almost a product of nature.

With a normal child the development of his capacity for work and duty should be finished by the age of 6. He is then prepared and mature for school.

From about 8 to 11 the child goes through a period of pronounced realism, when intellect takes the lead. Whereas so far his world has mainly consisted of human beings, he now discovers, so to speak, the world of matter. He wants to know and understand what is going on round him, to intrude into this new and strange world and conquer its strangeness. And because knowledge—knowledge of what things are like, how they are made, how they work—is not only the best, but actually the only means to this end, we find children of this age most anxious to learn, actually more so than at any other time of life.

This intense eagerness to learn and keen interest in the outer world gives way to the opposite extreme when the child enters the next stage, the so-called 'negative

phase' (13 to 15 with boys, and 11-13 with girls). This period is the prelude to puberty, the calm before the storm. The mysterious changes in the body absorb the child's whole strength, and the emotional reflections of these changes confuse his mind. To use a familiar slogan: The active extrovert turns into a slack introvert. Small wonder that the ordinary school subjects pale into insignificance beside this grandiose and frightening new world growing inside him.

During the second half of puberty and the beginning of adolescence the child composes itself gradually, and a newly-born personality emerges, with keener senses, new emotions and a new outlook on a new world, resolved to conquer it once more. The analogy to the child of 10 is striking, but the difference is even more significant. At 10 the child only wanted to get to know the world as it really is, to conquer something already existing. The adolescent feels himself, as it were, on a par with the world; he assaults it, and sets out to remodel it according to his own ideas. Instead of saying 'How does it come about?', which sums up the curiosity of the child of 10, he asks the fateful question, 'What is it all for?' It is the question about the aim of life.

I call this question fateful, because it is responsible for the tremendous troubles of this period and the almost insurmountable difficulties in dealing with them. There is first of all the sickening answer, 'It doesn't interest me,' with which the adolescent repudiates any blame for so-called laziness, inattention, etc. And he is right. The zeal of the child of ten was impelled by his indiscriminate greed for factual knowledge, but this has now lost its power of motivation. A sense of duty kept the small child to his work, but that is now overpowered by the prevailing subjectivism of adolescence. 'Interesting' means something worth doing—that is, either an activity which meets the boy's inner needs and corresponds to his intimate personal structure, or else, something for which he knows the use, in other words, what it is for. By 'interesting' he means something that is part of himself—now, or

will be in the future. Interest in a subject is identification with it. And because the newly-discovered self is to the adolescent precious above all else, the question of interest is of the first importance for him. The interests of adolescents (and not of adolescents only) are often transient and erratic, because so few have a sound instinct of what they are, or are going to be. To take some examples :

The first is to show that interests change according to stages of development. One of the greatest assets in modern education is the teaching of art and the results achieved by small children are often quite astonishing. Adolescents, however, often lose all interest in this sort of work, and rightly so. In childhood, any kind of artistic activity is a form of manipulating material; it trains a non-specific and natural aptitude, apparently more or less common to all children. But with adolescence the sense of quality awakens. The adolescent does not merely want to make something; he wants to make something really well. The problem of specific talent comes in here. Young people do not like occupations for which they have no particular talent, and that do not correspond to some special need or endowment in themselves. Another reason for fading interest is this : Latin and Mathematics are usually the first victims of the demand, 'What for?' 'What is the use of learning these subjects? I shall never want them afterwards. I know they are supposed to train the mind, but are there no other means to this end?' Perhaps there are.

I often find a child's attitude towards history an interesting test of his individuality. 'I don't want facts,' a boy of 16 once said to me. 'What I want are underlying ideas. Anyhow ideas come first and facts spring from ideas.' Here is a young Hegelian in the making! Another boy argued in this way : 'What is the use of knowing what happened in the past? If history repeats itself, as we are told, we are bound to make the same mistakes as our ancestors, over and over again.' What an awkward argument! A boy, who was an almost hopeless failure at

school, once produced a precise, but by no means unusual, version of this 'What for' problem. He was quite confident of success in later life, because even the smallest salary would show what his labour was for.

'That is all very well,' many a headmaster may object, 'but in my school boys have to work, and they do work, and if they don't, they can go—even to a psychologist, if they please.' Is this 'standing-no-nonsense' the right attitude, or is the craving for an aim really so universal and normal in adolescents? I think it is. It varies only according to the depths it stirs in the boy's mind, and in the method of its solution.

There are some boys, though very few, who are dimly possessed of a notion, however vague, of what is right for them, and are led by an instinctive impulse. They shape their future and fulfil their destiny almost without hesitation or doubt. Such a boy knows that he is meant to be a doctor, actor, business man, and so forth. What is merely a trade for the average boy is for him a calling. It would be a mistake to suppose that this inner certainty expresses itself in enviable tranquillity and composure. On the contrary, the adolescence of these boys is usually particularly stormy, for there is no harder task than to defend one's inner belief and convictions against incredulity, or the distracting temptations of life.

A much larger group repudiates the routine. These boys reject the ordinary, but do not know what to put in its place, or even what they want. Without compass or rudder they drift into the rapids of adolescence. They are good material, in a sense, too good merely to submit, but too weak to rebel, at once annoyed and annoying.

The majority, of course, submit to the ordinary course of life. They accept school certificate as the immediate aim, and the university or their father's business as the remoter, if not final, one. Only a general slackening or a failing interest in a particular subject indicates some slight disturbance beneath the surface.

Which of these three types is the normal one? Certainly not the last. One can hardly hope to prove more conclusively that the statistical norm of the average need not coincide with the essential norm. These boys, it is true, are comfortable members of the community, at home or in school. They are the rank-and-file of the columns of life, but are hardly likely to develop into the best type of citizen. An adolescent is normal who suffers, struggles, and revolts—whatever the result.

(5)

The other part of a child's life that I wish to describe cursorily is Sex.

I may shock a great many psychologists and please traditional parents (unintentionally in both cases) by venturing the contention that in a normal child no sexuality exists before puberty. In the usual plain and precise sense of the word sex, that is undoubtedly true. Freud's theory of infantile sexuality describes all a child's emotions as sexual, and the subsequent misrepresentations and misinterpretations of this doctrine are due to this loose and indiscriminate use of the term 'sexual'. But this theory is still too fiercely controversial to be discussed here and has no particular bearing on our problem.

There is, however, one phenomenon which must be mentioned in passing. At the age of 2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$ every normal child passes through a short period of remarkable emotional upheaval. At this time he shows greatly increased need for companionship, which takes the form of intense attachment to a particular person (mother, nurse, cook, or another child of the same or opposite sex). His passionate devotion is accompanied by other traits, which we meet with later on in love relationships between adults. Such are exaltation, passionate caresses, and chivalry, as well hatred, jealousy, and unrestrained possessiveness. This emotional storm abates in a few months, and the whole experience falls into oblivion. This short period is sometimes called 'first puberty' for its likeness to the real puberty.

The so-called 'questions about sex' are often taken as another manifestation of a prepuberal sexuality. These questions belong to two typical ages, 4 to 5 and 8 to 10 but at neither age are they really 'sexual', although concerned with sexual matters. Actually they spring from the child's general and unspecified factual interest in his surroundings, and asking 'where babies come from' means no more nor less than asking where dolls, or the cakes for tea, have come from. The particular flavour which all sexual matters have for grown-ups is quite alien to the child.

It is obviously quite normal for children to ask these questions, but psychologists are not agreed how to take it if they do not ask. It may signify only lack of interest in what is going on round them (which can hardly be called abnormal); but it may equally well be the symptom of a prematurely awakened and already repressed sexual interest, and if so, is definitely abnormal.

At the age of 12 to 14 (the onset of puberty) the normal sexual instinct awakens in every normal body: in fact, it must awaken, because the sexual glands begin to work. This is a purely physical or bodily phenomenon, manifesting itself in a peculiar tension or discomfort, which sooner or later finds spontaneous relief in 'wet-dreams'. If this relief is not sufficient, the boy must open another safety-valve and masturbate. Masturbation is the normal form of sexual life during puberty and adolescence. It is 'normal', because every physically healthy boy must suffer this tension owing to physical processes in his body. It is normal then, because the necessary and at that age highly desirable social contact with girls is bound to cause sexual excitement, which at that age cannot be relieved in any other way. And finally, it is normal on statistical grounds because the vast majority of boys do masturbate. This statement is based upon the interrogation of thousands of normal grown-up men, 90 per cent of whom admitted masturbation in youth.¹ For reasons too obvious to mention, this method of retrograde inquiry

¹ Cf. Exner, M. J., *Problems and Principles of Sex Education. A Study of 948 College Men*, New York, 1915; Davis, K. B., *Factors in Sex Life of 2,200 Women*, New York, 1929.

is more reliable than the interrogation or observation of boys themselves. If some educationalists, doctors or parents reject this high percentage, and are willing to admit 60 per cent or 30 per cent only, I will not argue the figures. But the fact to be stressed emphatically is that a boy who masturbates during puberty and within reasonable limits is quite normal, and is only doing something natural and, therefore, normal.

It may seem a detail, but it is nevertheless worth mentioning, because it shows better than anything else how complex and intricate is the question whether one has the right to call a phenomenon in this sphere 'sexual': The matter-of-fact way in which many boys talk about masturbating always surprises me. They relate the whole procedure and give details of their action and experience in language which used to be strictly confined to scientific discussion or thoroughly obscene conversation. They produce all this so innocently as to convince one that they have not the faintest idea what they are talking about, and are completely unconscious of the real meaning grown-ups connect with such facts. The explanation is this: mature sexuality is composed of three elements: a physical, an emotional one, and what I should call 'sexual awareness'. This last implies consciousness of the indescribable thrill and mystery, which raises some biological and psychological facts, indifferent in themselves, to a unique experience and ecstasy: Sex. I could not agree to call an act sexual unless the doer has arrived at this awareness, and this is definitely not yet the case with these boys.

By the way, these facts throw a peculiar sidelight on the value of early sex instruction, as well as on the over-estimation of the lasting effects of seduction. In order to take advantage of the former or suffer some harm from the latter certain stages of sex-maturation must be already reached. Otherwise the instruction is of no use, and the seduction cannot do any harm. That does not mean that both these influences on the sexual development are entirely negligible. But the information must be carefully timed otherwise the boys do not understand

what we are talking about and have forgotten all the valuable knowledge long before they find an opportunity of employing it. On the other side, seduction of a not yet awakened child is no more than a meaningless experience which leaves no mark behind it. But so-called seduction occurring at the right moment could be a valuable lesson, a kind of practical sex-instruction. Since we have sufficiently realized that hardly any child could be thoroughly protected against such premature sexual experience psychologists have discarded the idea that such happenings could be held responsible for all sorts of sexual or psychological trouble in later life.

Under normal conditions, where social intercourse with girls is not artificially prevented or restricted, a healthy boy, from the age of 15 onwards, feels attracted to the opposite sex. Love awakens, and the boy goes through all the stages of growing manhood from blissful joy to intolerable despair. From 18 onwards, the average healthy young man is physically and mentally fit for mating. That is the law of nature.¹ Where the Central, Western and Northern European countries are concerned, racial differences do not matter. By 'racial' (in so far as the term has any significance) I understand the biological foundations of character of a population. However great the differences in other respects, the biological coming of age occurs at approximately the same time in all these countries. All really experienced and unbiased observers will agree there. But it is the traditional ideas, social and religious, which cast and mould the emotional and mental life of a people into what is called national spirit or mentality. These factors exercise a profound influence on the sexual behaviour of young people, and may considerably retard the manifestation of sexual maturity.

¹ The following table shows the age at which sexual intercourse first occurs (in Germany):

		Under						Over
Age	..	15	15—16	17—18	19—20	21—22	23—24	24
Percentage
of cases	..	2.0	8.2	22.9	37.8	18.4	9.2	1.5

The standard conception of normality is here set by convention.

Incomplete as is this cursory sketch of child-development, it proves that there is no definite answer to the question of what characterizes a normal child. With the isolated capacities of the small child we are on safe ground in employing a series of tests, but if we would gauge his whole personality, we must go back to the standards of the science of Life on one side: adjustment to the laws of nature and the rules of social life, and on the other to the standards of science of Human Life: striving after and fulfilling the aim of life.

II

(b) THE ABNORMAL CHILD

(1)

We have seen in the previous chapter how disputed is the definition of a normal child; it might become even more controversial to define abnormality as a deviation from the normal. For our present purposes it may be better to content ourselves with studying the most important causes of abnormality and describing the most frequent types of abnormal children.

From this point of view, it will be advisable to discuss abnormal children in three groups. The first includes children who are abnormal in the medical sense of the word: feeble-minded, mentally deficient, backward or otherwise psychotic children. This group is outside the scope of this essay.

The second group is represented by neurotic children. We shall see later what this term means.

The third, and by far the largest and most important group is composed of children who give trouble at home and in school.

If I had to state concisely the main contribution of modern psychology to education, or rather the difference

between the educational and the psychological approach to difficulties in the upbringing of children, I should put it as follows: The educationalist deals primarily with the difficulties themselves; for instance, with laziness, bad work, offences against discipline, lack of sporting sense, stealing, lying. The psychologist is not concerned with any of these deficiencies as such; he concentrates on the reason for them. They are not just shortcomings, but the effects of an underlying cause, and these boys are not simple misfits but acting on definite reasons for which they cannot be held responsible. This is an essentially medical line of thought, and one which must be applied to such problems, because to modern medical-psychology belongs the credit for the creation of a practical educational and child-psychology.

In seeking reasons for the development of abnormality, medical psychology has discovered that special factors in our environment can influence, or even change, our personality. It has studied this fact almost exclusively, and come to the conclusion that we are the products of our own life-history. This is an obvious reaction from the equally one-sided belief, held by the preceding generation of scientists, that our fate is fore-ordained by heredity. But truth never lies in the extremes, and it is the less brilliant role of our own generation to play the honest broker and balance the merits of heredity against the claims of environmental influences.

The hypothesis (at present it only amounts to that), on which both parties could agree, may be put like this: only a child with an inherited disposition, or a transmitted constitutional deficiency, can be upset by unfavourable outer circumstances to the degree of producing abnormal features.

The second and equally important source from which we derive our knowledge of the abnormal child, is Experimental Child-Psychology. Its point of view is also historical. We know that the elements in the child's personality develop on definite lines in definite sequence. By the use of tests we can find out when and where such

a line has deviated from the normal course or where the sequence has been interrupted. Moreover, there are investigations in progress which promise to help us to distinguish by means of tests between abnormality as an original defect and as the result of environmental influences.

This is the position in general. In particular, we now know three main factors which cause abnormality: heredity, constitution, and environment.

(2)

It is not only a biblical threat, but also a scientific fact, that the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children; in other words, that deficiencies or abnormal traits in the parents may be inherited by their children. But biology and medicine have not yet found out which of the ordinary deficiencies are transmissible, and to what degree; nor have they supplied the means of deciding whether, in a concrete case, a characteristic is actually inherited. The assumption that a trait in a specific case has been inherited may be quite probable but there is always the alternative that it may be due to environmental influences, and neither of these alternatives can be conclusively proved or disproved. Take an example: It is common knowledge that children of highly strung parents are often highly strung themselves; but this does not prove that the condition is always necessarily inherited, because it is easy to become highly strung by permanent contact with highly strung people. We must therefore never yield to the temptation of quieting our diagnostic conscience by saying: 'It is just inherited; nothing can be done.' There may be a great deal to be done.

On the other hand, there are traits which we can trace back several generations. One of them is the *tempo* of life, particularly in the form of 'slowness'. There may be different reasons for this in work or in life. One of them is a genuine slowness: some people are just made that way, and it would be unfair and incorrect to blame the environment, however unsuitable, for this symptom. Among

my clientèle I remember three families, who for three generations had this slow pace in their movements, speech, thoughts, decisions and so on. Sometimes, however, it is only the speed in development that slows down, especially up to adolescence, but after this age boys often make up for lost time.

What we have just said about heredity is also true of physical constitution and health. We cannot be too cautious in attributing psychological trouble to physical causes, which are more often assumed than proved. It is a truism that the health of the body has something to do with the health of the mind, but what this 'something' means in kind or degree is difficult to estimate both in general and in particular. It is, however, certain that a good physique is not necessarily a condition of mental health, nor need a poor physique result in mental illness. Physical exercise and an out-of-door life are excellent, keeping body and soul fit and spirits high, but they cannot prevent or help psychological entanglements. If they could we should find fewer cases of neurosis in villages than in towns, which we do not. The mutual influence of body and mind is an intricate problem, but in dealing with a problem-child we must bear in mind that a splendid physique is no safeguard against neurosis, and that a poor body may be inhabited by a brilliant mind. History offers ample proof of this. All these facts, practically applied, mean that in psychological problems we must first seek a psychological cause, although of course physical ailments must be treated too.

This general principle is not invalidated by the fact that certain kinds of physical abnormalities produce definite effects on the mind. To Alfred Adler belongs the credit of having discovered and emphasized one of the most important of these defects: all sorts of physical deviations from the average, major, minor, minute or even imaginary—from a hunchback down to freckles or hair of an unusual colour—may cause a more or less pronounced sense of inferiority. The result is the morbid type of character that Adler has admirably described. This

trend of thought has been carried almost to perfection by Charlotte Buhler. By her system of tests she has discovered grave defects in children, e.g., lack of visualization, manual skill, etc., which could not have been found out in any other way. These defects affect in a surprising way the self-confidence of such children; they create a strong sense of insecurity, because such children feel handicapped in the ordinary tasks of life, and so an avalanche of typically neurotic symptoms is let loose.

So much about heredity and physical defects. But by far the most important achievement of modern (medical) psychology is that it has set in its right light the influence of environment. This we owe to Freud, and it is the most hotly disputed part of his work. By environmental influence he understands solely and exclusively the parent-child relationship and particularly the one he terms the 'Oedipus-complex'. It is not necessary for our purpose to follow him into these sinister depths of the human mind, for these phenomena are so deeply unconscious that parents and teachers cannot cope with them, and they need to be treated by a trained expert. Fortunately this relationship can be described in a different way, up to the point at which it can be dealt with in the ordinary course of life. But even so, the problem remains complicated enough.

The best guarantee for the well-being and normal growth of the child is a friendly and peaceful atmosphere at home, which spells for him security, for this is his greatest need. Any tension in the atmosphere is bound to deform his personality, and the more susceptible he is, the greater will be the damage. The importance of this factor can hardly be over-rated. This milieu is the natural product of the parents' personality, their attitude and mode of living. Any deliberate attempt to alter this milieu and its effect on the child is doomed to failure, and by its artificiality to increase rather than relax the tension. Parents who sincerely believe they have done their best, realize later on, more often than not, that the result of their honest efforts fall far short of their expectations. It is

not what we do or say that really matters, but what we are. That is the essential triumph or tragedy of parenthood.

Apart from general influence, each parent has a specific task to fulfil. The unique intimacy between mother and child, and the feeling of unqualified belonging to a human being, makes the child feel at home in the world. By full recognition and self-denying appreciation of the child's personality, the mother also makes him feel at home with himself. Instinctive self-esteem and genuine sociability in the widest sense of the word is what we owe to mother love. The father's contribution is of a different kind. His love takes the form of recognizing and acknowledging the particular capacities and definite achievements of the child. He sets up objective standards, creates the sense of duty, and personifies the idea of authority. This acknowledgment, though not expressed in so many words but constantly shown, gives the child self-reliance. Children who did not get, or who think they did not get, the proper love from their mother, are haunted throughout life by a feeling of loneliness and the sense of being strangers in the world; and children who did not get, or who think they did not get, adequate acknowledgment from their father grow up with a sense of failure, and often actually become failures. Neither of these initial losses can ever be quite made up for in later years.

In a normal family, brothers and sisters are comrades and helpers; in an abnormal family they watch each other suspiciously like jealous competitors.

Heredity, constitution, and environment are the three main factors composing and moulding our personality. If anything goes wrong with one of them or, as is more usual, with all of them, an abnormal personality is the result.

In what way?

(3)

As it is impossible to discuss all the types of problem children, it may best serve the purpose of this book if we tackle the problem as it is presented to us in real life. I

will take, without discrimination, the first hundred cases of public school boys whom I have seen professionally, and analyse them from those points of view which are of interest to us.

Four of them were endowed by nature with a splendid physique; thirty-six were physically normal, forty-three fairly good, and the remaining seventeen rather poor specimens. These figures should prove conclusively our statement, made above, that physical health need not necessarily prevent psychological troubles.

As to the causes of their troubles: in seventy-one cases the conditions in the family could be held responsible; twelve cases gave one the impression that their precarious personality rather matched their physical status; three others showed the defect in visualization already alluded to; three were cripples; in eleven cases no definite cause could be discovered.

And now to the reasons which prompted the respective schools to ask for help.

Eleven boys were definitely *backward*, and three of them belonged to the type of slow developers.

Nineteen had been *unhappy* to an unusual degree, five of them suffered from a particularly stormy puberty. One of this group suddenly discovered that he could no longer get on with his parents; they were so old-fashioned and didn't understand him. His world collapsed, he could not go on working, because pleasing his parents which had so far been the stimulus for his working had lost all meaning for him. Another boy, described by his tutor as aimless and completely lacking in initiative, drifting through life, became suddenly aware of his plight; he felt there was something wrong with him, but spasmodic efforts to pull himself together were no good. Perhaps, he argued, there is something wrong with the present generation; our political life is in utter confusion, with no discernible aim. Another boy of 17 began to suffer acutely from lack of contact with his rather elderly parents. He felt himself deserted, drowning, alone among the multitude, descending to ever lower strata. All of a

sudden he found himself a Communist and agnostic without wanting to be one. He first gave organized religion a chance, but it failed him (or was it only the school chaplain?). He found higher ideals in Marx's doctrine than in the Christian religion. Whom should he believe, or what?

It is rather difficult to call these boys abnormal, just because they suffer deeply from something by which we ought all to be affected. On the other hand, one must admit that there is something wrong with them, perhaps because, according to the standard of the biological norm, they are more susceptible to problems peculiar to their age, and show less resistance to disturbing influences resulting from the family situation and to the ordinary difficulties of life. The disproportion between cause and effect must raise suspicion.

Sixteen boys were more or less at variance with *discipline*. Discipline is the most intriguing problem in modern education. Here psychology is in a position to offer a considerable amount of knowledge, and if it were possible to put into practice some of its suggestions and make them common property, one of the major troubles, not only of the first seventeen years, but of our whole life, would be alleviated.

Discipline is a facet or derivative of the phenomenon of order, and order implies the existence of objective laws, which form a frame for our individual existence. Authority is another synonym for the same idea. To be disciplined or to possess a sense of order means voluntary acceptance of this frame as our natural state, or the scene in which our life is set. Discipline requires freedom as an intrinsic element, which is implied in the idea of voluntary acceptance as the opposite of forcible subjection. Freedom breeds discipline, but from discipline springs the new freedom of production. The well-disciplined mind alone is really creative.

Training is not discipline, but a preliminary phenomenon prior to discipline both in essence and time. By this I mean: The sense of order and discipline is an innate

and essential feature of human nature; but nevertheless in the first stages of life this sense must be awakened by training. Training begins on the first day of our life, when we train the child to regular meals and times of sleep. From the second year onwards the child begins to manifest spontaneous discipline; he seeks every possible contact with grown-up people, tries to fit into the community of the family, and realizes soon that this means fitting into the structure of the family.

There are, of course, many ways in which this normal course of development could be disturbed; which disturbance is bound to lead to an insufficient awakening or development of the sense of discipline. For instance, if there is in a family no structure or frame to grow into, if no one observes mealtimes, if the mother is always late and the father cancels all his engagements at the last minute, it is small wonder that a child never develops the sense of discipline. That is one reason for disturbance.

There is another: In the beginning, as we have seen, training precedes discipline; later on, roughly up to the age of 15, both run parallel. There are still parts of life which need training; they are the more mechanical, automatic, or impersonal activities which gradually develop into habits—getting up in the morning, washing, brushing hair, later on shaving, table manners, keeping exercise books clean, even work itself—in short, the technicalities of life. This training provides a solid framework to our life, a support which every child wants. He needs the security of a firm lead in order to develop his sense of, and capacity for responsibility. Freedom acquired too early and offered too generously may endanger this sense of security from which true discipline springs.

There is a third reason for disturbance, even more disastrous in its results. With children of this group so called 'lack of discipline' is only a partial manifestation of a much more deeply seated suffering, of a thoroughly altered attitude towards life. Their revolt is a bitter and utterly logical conclusion at which they arrive from

the way in which they feel (rightly or wrongly) they have been treated by their parents. A child belonging to this group is aware of never satisfying his parents: try as hard as he may, he only gets blame instead of reward; he feels strangled and suffocated by permanent, relentless criticism. Over and over again he hears himself called a bad boy, a hopeless case, and so on. Eventually the child believes it, and gives up all hope of ever becoming a useful member of the community. He goes off and outlaws himself; becomes, in fact, a law unto himself. This exodus into a self-imposed moral exile has never been better described than by Richard Duke of Gloucester, later King Richard III, in the grandiose exposition of his life :—

“ And therefore, since I cannot prove a lover,
To entertain these fair well-spoken days,
I am determined to prove a villain
And hate the idle pleasures of these days.”

He is ‘determined’, and so are these children.

Another way out of the same situation leads into *obstinacy*. Whereas the mischievous boy takes a more aggressive line, the obstinate boy retires into passivity. To be obstinate means to be on the defensive. A stony face, a blank look, a rigid body, this defying but watchful, almost frightening, remoteness are parts of the armour with which a wounded soul protects itself. Obstinacy is essentially a passive attitude, and occasional outbreaks of insolence are meant to serve the same purpose as sallies executed by a besieged garrison. Both types of boys, the undisciplined as well as the obstinate, are in profound despair—at the unfairness, injustice, strangeness, and stupidity of the grown-up world, as well as at their own incapacity to conquer it. Behind the ostentatious high spirits of the mischievous boy lurks sadness, just as the exasperating resistance of the obstinate boy hides a cry for help.

No matter how far psychologists of different schools may disagree on various points, they are all agreed on the fact that only in a comparatively small number of cases are

difficulties with schoolwork due to real incapacity for doing this work. In the majority of cases, poor results are caused by psychological disturbances. Twenty-two of my cases belonging to this group.

We have already discussed a number of inner conflicts liable to affect a child in this connection. Some children have not developed the idea of work which, as we have seen, grows out of play. A child who has not played sufficiently, or not in the right manner—constructive play—often fails in his schoolwork later on for this reason. Another reason is this: In this first stage, the child wants to work in order to please somebody; if parents are not pleased, or do not show their pleasure, the child loses his interest in work. Then the question of discipline also enters into our problem: in the next phase, a child works because he knows 'I have to work'. This attitude originates from the undisputed acceptance of objectivity which we have described as the essence of discipline; a harmony between the individual and his environment, a balance between *wants* and *oughts*. Later on, the readiness to work is closely linked up with the question of an aim. Nobody likes to work without knowing what he is working for. However, the most important, or at least the most frequent reason for failure at school is diffidence: the discouraged child is doomed to fail at school and in later life. And so is the unhappy child; if his heart is full of worries, his mind goes blank; internal pre-occupation outbalances external interest.

Generally speaking, we can say: The average child must be expected to do his schoolwork properly and to comply with the exigencies of the school curriculum. If he does not fulfil these expectations, we must conclude that either his general aptitude for work, or his personality, has not been properly developed owing to obstacles put in his way by those who are responsible for him. Bad work is not a matter of ill-will. It is no use telling the child that he 'must try hard', because most of them do try; but they are working against the dead-weight of their psychological impediments; and finally they give in and give up trying.

To make a child work is not a matter of authoritative discipline, but of finding out the reasons for his shortcomings in this respect in order to deal with them accordingly.

From the number of my young patients only five were sent to me because of *sexual troubles*. This remarkably small figure gives no idea whatever of the frequency with which sexual offences actually occur. Many of these offences are not detected; many schools deal with the offenders in the sphere of their own competence; an ever-increasing number of schoolmasters take an easy view of the problem; and, last but not least, almost every problem child has additional difficulties with sex. But with the aforementioned five boys these disturbances were so alarming that they necessitated consultation with a specialist.

The two principal sexual abnormalities of the school-boy age are excessive masturbation and homosexuality. It has been said before that masturbation as such is a perfectly normal phenomenon of this age, as long as its frequency is kept within reasonable limits. Now we must add that it is practically impossible to fix this limit beyond which the frequency of masturbation must be considered abnormal. Whether this is the case or not depends on the whole physical constitution and the sexual capacity of each particular boy, and what is normal for one might already be abnormal for another. However, unless we are confronted with really excessive cases—I know a boy aged 15 who has been masturbating five times a day for the last two years—this matter does not deserve the anxious attention it used to be given. Nowadays it is common knowledge among professional men that even frequent masturbation—e.g. every night for years—does not cause any physical and very little psychological harm. Frequent masturbation is never the cause, but always the result or a symptom of any serious psychological trouble the boy may show: he masturbates because he is in trouble, and not the other way round. Masturbation in older boys is a sign of unhappiness;

it is one of the keys to the *paradises artificiels* where all sorts of addicts find their ultimate refuge. There is, therefore, no reason why we should employ heavy artillery in dealing with such cases, nor would it be of any use. If we make such children feel happy and at home in this world, their flight into an imaginary world becomes unnecessary, and masturbation disappears automatically.

The question of homosexuality in schools is of more importance because of the greater abnormality and danger it represents. Homosexuality is so complex a phenomenon that we must content ourselves with outlining its main features. To begin with, it cannot be emphasized enough that the form of homosexuality with which we are confronted in schools has nothing whatever to do with the perversity of the same name, it is an abnormality of its own kind. Similar to masturbation which is the artificial outlet of physical tensions, homosexuality is the substitutional outlet of emotional tensions (such as kindness, helpfulness, affection, tenderness, and even a sort of love) if the normal outlet is barred. The adolescent feels a strong desire to give and to receive emotional attention, and if circumstances prevent him from finding the natural object (namely a girl, as happens, for instance, in boarding-schools), it may cause him to take the object nearest to hand, namely another boy. Many a physically healthy, virile, and apparently normal boy may try to escape from his emotional imprisonment that way. I emphasize the word 'may' because I cannot help feeling that a perfectly normal boy would never resort to this substitution, and that something must be wrong with the boy who does it. Of course, this view can hardly be proved conclusively.

The second motive which may lead to homosexuality is fear: fear of the other sex, of showing one's feelings, of running risks—in short, fear of behaving like a man. Such boys are definitely abnormal. Of course, they are by no means genuine homosexuals, but cowardly, diffident, neurotic boys who will always choose in life the line of least resistance. For them, obviously, the easier line in

many respects is to associate with boys instead of with girls. From these ranks are recruited the great number of grown-up pseudo-homosexuals. The danger of homosexual inclinations and practices in schools lies in the fact that one never knows whether they are only a transient phase in the boy's development, or whether they will become ever more consolidated and lead to the above-mentioned permanent distortion of the boy's personality. In this connection it may be noted that it makes no difference from the psychological and the prognostic point of view whether the homosexual tendency in boys is restricted to emotional manifestation only, or whether it leads to physical practice. The causes as well as the consequences may be the same in both cases. The importance of this fact is rarely recognized, and this adds another to the many difficulties we meet in dealing with cases of this nature. A perfectly chaste, idealistic friendship may be denounced as a homosexual relationship, which is just as bad as mistaking a homosexual relationship for a so-called platonic *affaire*. In fact, the correct handling of this phenomenon of sexual development requires much personal tact and even more expert knowledge.

However, the number of genuine homosexual perverts in adolescence and later manhood is so infinitesimal that it can be discounted.

(4)

The last group of abnormal boys is represented by the neurotics. In my material I have come across twenty-two cases of this nature, eight of which may be considered as border-cases.

The term 'neurosis' has been much abused and discredited in recent years. For this fact psychologists themselves must partly take the blame. All psychological schools agree that neurosis is a psychological disease, but they differ in their definitions of this disease and in their assumptions as to its causes and symptoms. In order to describe neurosis in general, I should like to put it this way :

The whole variety of symptoms shown by the boys of our second group are simple, straightforward reactions to inner or outer irritations. If a small child is persistently scolded he gets discouraged and diffident ; if his younger brother is openly preferred to him, he develops jealousy ; if he is incessantly made to do things he dislikes he becomes obstinate, or resentful towards any kind of work ; if he is always teased and mocked at he becomes shy. Under these circumstances, shyness, obstinacy, jealousy, etc., are perfectly natural, obvious and justified reactions to corresponding irritations.

Distinctly different are the neurotic symptoms: they are complex and indirect reactions. If, for instance, a neglected child develops bed-wetting, stomach trouble, or other ailments of this kind 'in order to' defeat his brother and to get more attention from his parents, these troubles are complex and indirect reactions, *i.e.*, neurotic symptoms. The principal psychological symptoms of neurosis are fear, obsession, a sense of guilt. Neurosis is definitely a serious condition and one which calls for expert help.

This leads us to our last question : What can be done to help all these boys? The answer is : a great deal—circumstances permitting.

Let us recall the fundamental principle of medical psychology, that a given condition is the result of Nature and Nurture. Applied to the problem of education, this would mean that the psychological status, the conduct and work of a schoolboy are conditioned by his genuine capacities, plus outer circumstances. The latter include home atmosphere, type of school, and the demands made on the boy.

It follows that in dealing with a problem-child we must first of all endeavour to obtain the clearest possible view of his intellectual, emotional, and characterological qualities. These and nothing else determine what may be expected of him. Neither family tradition, nor the ambitions of his parents, nor the reputation of his school should be treated as decisive factors. Many a boy turns out an apparent failure solely because he has been forced into

a kind of school to which he is unsuited in every way. For instance, not every boy will fit into a boarding-school whereas he may succeed fairly well in a day-school. On the other side, numerous types of boarding-schools interpreting entirely different trends of modern education, make it possible for us to choose the school corresponding to the individuality of each particular child. Even for school-ties the fashions are changing in our days., Then again, many a failure at school turns into an immediate success when he exchanges the schoolroom for the workshop; let us give him this chance irrespective of pride and prejudice. A sort of 'vocational' guidance should start in the beginning, and not at the end, of a school career. All this sounds extremely obvious, but it is disappointing and pathetic to think that in dealing with problems of the upbringing of children we more often than not confine ourselves to commonplaces, only to discover that these 'places' are still not 'common' enough to prevent all kinds of educational disasters.

This is the kind of help we can give to boys of our first group, the somewhat backward children. The treatment of boys belonging to the second type is far more satisfactory and gratifying. Nothing could be more contrary to what they actually need than to press each case into the Procrustean Bed of a treatment according to one of the well-known psycho-pathological doctrines. What they need is a helping hand. Every problem-child is a lonely child, at variance with this world. To help such a child means to lead him gradually back into this world. If he distrusts the grown-ups, his suspicions must be dispelled; if he resents injustice, we must make him realize that the world is not so bad as he thinks, but that a certain amount of injustice must be put up with; the diffident boy must be encouraged, and the aggressive one pacified. The general principle of education—'not what we say, but what we are, is what really matters'—holds good also for the therapeutic situation. Of course all these boys need a great deal of instruction, a kind of philosophy of life.

The whole variety of symptoms shown by the boys of our second group are simple, straightforward reactions to inner or outer irritations. If a small child is persistently scolded he gets discouraged and diffident ; if his younger brother is openly preferred to him, he develops jealousy ; if he is incessantly made to do things he dislikes he becomes obstinate, or resentful towards any kind of work ; if he is always teased and mocked at he becomes shy. Under these circumstances, shyness, obstinacy, jealousy, etc., are perfectly natural, obvious and justified reactions to corresponding irritations.

Distinctly different are the neurotic symptoms: they are complex and indirect reactions. If, for instance, a neglected child develops bed-wetting, stomach trouble, or other ailments of this kind 'in order to' defeat his brother and to get more attention from his parents, these troubles are complex and indirect reactions, *i.e.*, neurotic symptoms. The principal psychological symptoms of neurosis are fear, obsession, a sense of guilt. Neurosis is definitely a serious condition and one which calls for expert help.

This leads us to our last question : What can be done to help all these boys? The answer is : a great deal—circumstances permitting.

Let us recall the fundamental principle of medical psychology, that a given condition is the result of Nature and Nurture. Applied to the problem of education, this would mean that the psychological status, the conduct and work of a schoolboy are conditioned by his genuine capacities, plus outer circumstances. The latter include home atmosphere, type of school, and the demands made on the boy.

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However, far more important, in fact the decisive factor, may be the relationship between the young patient and his doctor. The therapist becomes the representative of the dreaded, hated, despised, admired, hostile, wonderful, and beloved world. If the patient discovers that there is one man he can trust—his doctor—he becomes willing to admit that there may possibly be some more whom he may risk trusting; if he finds that there is one man who thinks highly of him, hope is born that others may do the same; if he learns that his worries are not entirely personal or private ones, but that many of them are worries to most of us, he gets encouraged to face them. In short, through the creation of a real, human relationship to one particle of the world—his doctor—the patient gradually comes to terms with the world at large.

Nature without mercy, parents without common sense, masters without imagination are the main causes giving rise to the troubles we have discussed; they also represent the main handicaps of all therapy and all too often its limits.

Our greatest helper, on the other hand, is Time. Our work is a patient, careful, gradual readjustment of the young patient's attitude towards life in general and himself in particular. This takes time, and immediate success is a rare exception. The rule is that we put the patient on the right track and make him walk along it. Meanwhile the boy grows up, and this process in itself implies continuous self-adjustment supported by our work and supporting it in its turn.

To support—that is the correct term for describing the scope of our help and its limits. We cannot be expected to create a new personality—our work is confined to reforming or re-casting the material left in our hands. We cannot do more than awaken and liberate capacities which were dormant or repressed. This can be and must be done, and within these limits modern psychology has largely contributed towards the establishment of liberty, peace, and happiness in our patients' souls, and through them—perhaps—for humanity at large.

DELINQUENT TENDENCIES IN ADOLESCENT BOYS

By CYRIL BURT

'ADOLESCENCE,' SAYS STANLEY HALL in his monumental work upon that subject, 'is pre-eminently the criminal age, the age when most vicious careers are begun.' At this period, so he maintains, nearly every boy passes temporarily through a delinquent phase. Statistics appear to support this statement. Between the ages of thirteen and sixteen there is a striking increase in the number of criminal offences, and those not merely offences of one particular type, but offences of all types. Moreover, information collected in English prisons indicates that the majority of habitual criminals apparently date their first offence from their early 'teens: for example, of 2,000 repeated offenders it was found that more than half had received their first sentence before the age of twenty, and a surprisingly large proportion between the ages of thirteen and eighteen.

Could we accept such figures at their face value, they would form a remarkable warning to parents. First, they would seem to demonstrate that these final years of mental growth are the most difficult and the most dangerous of all. Secondly, they would seem to suggest that crime is not so much the inevitable outcome of original wickedness as an incidental consequence of natural developmental changes—of strong impulses emerging for the first time at an age when the individual has not yet fully acquired his powers of self-control. Finally, since in most persons these delinquent impulses are eventually overcome, it might be inferred that, in the remainder, crime in later life is for the most part an after-effect of a habit begun during adolescence—a result that might possibly have been avoided had the first

manifestations been detected and corrected during this crucial and formative stage.

In all these statements, and in the inferences often drawn from them, there is, without a doubt, a large and instructive element of truth. Yet I think few psychologists of to-day would accept them just as they stand. The notion that all children develop alike, that every boy inevitably passes through much the same successive phases, that action is mainly due to impulses emerging from within—these widespread notions grossly oversimplify the facts. When a boy gives trouble, the parent is tempted to bring him to the psychologist's consulting room, expecting the psychologist to carry out a brief examination, and there and then deduce the causes and prescribe the proper treatment. No doubt, for most physical conditions, certainly for most physical diseases, a study of the patient and of the patient alone is all that is necessary. But mental processes are not exclusively intrinsic. Mental processes by their very nature are reactions of the person to his environment. Hence mental conditions and mental disorders can rarely be understood by examining the patient himself. To do so would be to follow the plan of the Martian zoologist who tried to understand a fish by examining its body without ever having seen water. Theft, lying, insubordination, and all the numerous petty offences to which the adolescent youth is prone, are not impulses coming solely from within: they are responses to stimuli coming from without. Indeed, nearly all the mental and moral characteristics that are commonly attributed to the child at this stage are only in part the outcome of internal development.

If a child commits no crime until adolescence, and then suddenly breaks out into theft or sexual misbehaviour, I should be inclined to attribute his conduct, not to the process of adolescence as such, but to some unsuspected alteration in his social environment. Nor should I expect the lapse to be the first step on a long-continued stair leading downwards to habitual crime. On the contrary,

I should be tempted to say that the outlook was decidedly favourable. A closer and more intimate investigation of the personal history of the regular offender will commonly show that, although he probably did not receive his first sentence before adolescence, nevertheless his early childish career was studded with petty offences, some undiscovered except perhaps by his parents, others widely known to the authorities but overlooked out of a mistaken consideration for his tender years. If a career of crime does not start until adolescence, I generally find that the career is short. There are, however, exceptions; and the exceptions are sometimes so serious that a closer examination of the subsidiary factors is essential.

Let us therefore begin with a review of the general characteristics that seem to mark this stage, and observe why they so often tend to issue in what civilized society commonly regards as offences against the law. We may take the physical changes first, since to a large extent they are the sign and the source of the mental changes.

Up to the age of about 12 or 13, growth both in boys and girls is fairly steady. It is true there is a popular notion that growth is rhythmical or spasmodic; and, when we measure the height and weight of isolated individuals, we often get the impression that they are growing more rapidly in one year than in another. But, as a rule, these individual fluctuations take place at different periods and have their own definite causes. The average curve of growth is, during the greater part of childhood, very nearly a straight line. Certain parts, no doubt, grow a little more rapidly than others, and none of them grow in an absolutely uniform ratio. The head, for example, grows far more rapidly during the first few years of life than it does later on. The legs and arms grow very swiftly up to the age of about thirteen; then, after the age of thirteen, the boy tends to grow rather in breadth, the girl in plumpness, and both to put on weight. On the whole, however, it may be fairly said that, during the first twelve years of life, the child is steadily expanding almost equally in all directions. He alters, as it were,

more in size or bulk than in quality or shape. But with the onset of puberty, growth suddenly becomes a change in kind rather than a simple change in amount : he loses his childish appearance ; he deviates from his childish proportions ; and gradually turns into a man.

This by itself is sufficiently disturbing. Secretly the child feels that he is ceasing to be a child, but has not as yet become an adult. Until the transformation is complete he is sensible that he is neither one thing nor the other ; he is no longer a grub ; he has not yet grown his self-supporting wings ; he is a queer, intermediate, anomalous creature, a kind of human chrysalis, uncouth to look at and difficult to understand. And we who watch him developing rightly speak of him as having reached an awkward age. An awkward age it certainly is, not merely for the growing child, but also for his parents, his teachers, and for all who have to deal with him.

To what are these changes in shape and appearance due? How can they be explained? It seems that they are nearly all traceable to certain new and somewhat mysterious physical influences. The fundamental fact of puberty consists in the maturation of the sex glands ; and the internal secretions of these glands, and of others embedded like them in various parts of the body, play a major part in controlling the growth of bone, of cartilage, and of fat, in determining the distribution of hair, and even in stimulating the manifold activities of the nervous system.

Of itself this maturation of the sexual organs confers new possibilities of wrong-doing. A new capacity is a new temptation. When the vocal organs are first matured, the infant is all for babbling. When his legs are strong enough to bear him, he is all for crawling clambering, and running about. And in much the same way, at the age when the sex organs ripen, an inclination towards sexual misdemeanours is very liable to arise. Owing to the false air of mystery that surrounds the processes of reproduction, any petty lapses in this direction are apt to loom large in the sensitive mind of the youth who has

given way for the first time. What should be regarded as a natural impulse is thought of as a criminal or sinful impulse. As we shall see in a moment, there can be no doubt that the youth should be advised to avoid such weaknesses, so far as possible; but the advice need not carry with it a sense of overwhelming condemnation for those who fail to follow it with complete success.

Even where no definite misbehaviour ensues, the youth is apt to be worried by his growing awareness of these unexpected, and often unexplained, physiological powers. This awareness is still further heightened by visible changes, and by the comments that they excite. The first appearance of hair on the chin, the first signs of the breaking voice, even the first change from knee-breeches into trousers, are apt to be the subject of jocular comment from relatives and boy-companions. Usually, too, muscles and bones do not develop at quite the same pace. The result is, particularly in the boy as contrasted with the girl, a stage of increased clumsiness. He becomes awkward in his gait, inelegant in his movements. His very handwriting becomes jerky, slovenly, and ill-controlled. This once again intensifies his vague feelings that something is going on inside which is preventing him from being a complete master of his actions.

Here, as elsewhere, however, it is rash to generalize. We must not suppose that on the same birthday the same changes in growth set punctually in. These various physical changes overtake different boys at different periods. They need not necessarily occur at the same time, or even in the same order. From one child to another the variation in date of development is far wider than is usually supposed. Unfortunately on this matter there is as yet little accurate information available, particularly for children in this country. The facts are most easy to investigate in the case of girls: there careful inquiry shows that the average age of pubescence is just over fourteen; but the range among different individuals is exceedingly wide. Among boys pubescence is less easy to determine. It appears to occur in this country about

nine months later; but once again there is great individual variability. In a group of a hundred there will usually be one or two who have reached the fifteen-year-old stage a little before twelve, and perhaps one who does not reach it until nearly eighteen. In girls, such deviations would almost certainly be known to the parents, and would be allowed for. In boys, the facts may never be discovered at all. Nevertheless the disharmony may be there; and it is more particularly among those youths whose development is exceptional and ill-balanced that special difficulties are likely to arise.

The changes in the sex glands, however, have a very wide and far-reaching influence; they are not limited to physical effects. They largely control both the intellectual and the emotional development of the child.

On the intellectual side the most remarkable feature is that towards the age of puberty the child's development is gradually retarded, and comes, in most cases, virtually to an end at about the age of sixteen. To the non-psychological, this is a somewhat startling fact; yet it accounts for many puzzling characteristics. Here, as so often, what the parent takes to be an exceptional peculiarity of his boy is really but an instance of an unfamiliar but almost universal law. It is not the individual that is exceptional; it is the stage through which he is passing.

Up to the age of about 13 every normal boy increases steadily in general intelligence, just as he increases steadily in stature and in weight. After that period, the annual increment becomes rapidly less and less. In fact, at the age of 15 or 16 his level is very little higher than it was at the age of 14. Now the parent, who has been proudly watching his son's development from year to year, becomes aware of this stagnation. He may put it down to failing health; but, if there are no obvious signs of illness, he is more likely to put it down to wilful laziness. The boy is blamed for lack of intellectual effort; and what is a normal feature of adolescence is treated almost as a moral weakness.

The nature of the arrest must not be misunderstood. It is not suggested that henceforward the boy will cease to learn. Up to the time of puberty his learning capacity has been growing larger year by year, and has now reached its maximum. It will remain at this maximum: so that he will continue to accumulate more knowledge; but his *power* to accumulate will not itself increase. Those who find it difficult to credit such a statement need only look at the tests of intellectual capacity set to children of 14 and to young adults of 24. They will find that, where sheer intelligence is concerned, the problems are of much the same level of difficulty at both ages. Of course, where educational attainments are in question, or knowledge of worldly life, the latter may show ten years' advance above the former. The fact is—as many widespread surveys clearly show—the average mental age of the adult population is itself not much above that of a child of 15. This, too, brings with it a corollary for parents. Parents are not exempt from the general law which sets a limit to adult intelligence: in other words, while some parents are complaining that their adolescent children have ceased to develop, other parents are secretly feeling that their children's wits are at least as sharp as their own.

I have spoken of a general law; and by that I mean an average law. But like all laws it has its exceptions. Here as elsewhere there are enormous individual differences. The dull child comes to an arrest much earlier; the bright child goes on developing until several years later. Psychological tests carried out among the highest forms of public schools and among honours students at the University show that in some cases intelligence may continue to develop—very slightly but still perceptibly—up to the age of 20 or even later.

There is yet another law of mental growth that must be mentioned. Up to the age of puberty, as children grow in years, so their individual peculiarities become more marked. The older boys tend to spread out more and more, like runners nearing the end of a race. Thus the

child who is backward by one year at the age of 5 will be backward by two years at the age of 10, and by three years at the age of 15. Similarly those who are forward or advanced push more and more ahead of their fellows as time goes on. It follows that in early adolescence the level of different children—often even of brothers in one and the same family—may become painfully conspicuous. Many parents are strong believers in the doctrine of human equality, which, as they interpret, it, means that their own child ought always to be equal to the best. Unfortunately, so far from being born equal, the innate differences between one child and another as revealed by careful testing surpass anything that the lay person would ever conceive. And the differences bear sorely on both extremes.

The backward youth is commonly blamed for a backwardness for which he is not responsible; and this in turn may lead to lying and deceit in order to hide the backwardness itself. The precocious boy is often equally at a disadvantage: he is keenly aware that he is different from others: what his brothers, his schoolfellows, and even his parents do seems patently foolish; and yet he feels that he is not in a position to criticize or openly condemn. Indeed, the position of the genius in a family of average individuals is quite as painful as that of the dullard. At school it is a sign of bad form to appear cleverer than other scholars in the same class. The clever boy has therefore to conceal his cleverness. Often he finds that he can bluff through his lessons by brilliant improvisation; and therefore has no need to work. His superfluous wits nevertheless require something on which to exercise themselves; and he readily takes to underhand or dubious practices largely for the fun of enjoying his own ingenuity and skill. Most criminals, it is true, are fools; most rogues are also simpletons: but now and then the very fact of possessing more intelligence than your neighbours forms a strong temptation to cheat and outwit them.

Beyond a doubt, however, the most striking changes that characterize the adolescent period are not physical

or intellectual changes, but what we may loosely call *moral* changes, that is, changes in emotion and character. These changes arise partly from internal physiological development and partly from alterations in the youth's social situation. It is the occurrence of these moral changes at this stage that renders moral abnormalities—or what seem like moral abnormalities—so much commoner just after puberty than at any other time of life.

Various theories have been advanced to explain the emergence of these new emotional impulses at this age. The older view was that a vast number of inborn mental tendencies, latent during earlier years, now awaken and become suddenly active. This view was elaborated in Stanley Hall's two volumes on *Adolescence*; and until recently was accepted by the vast majority of educational writers. To-day, however, the best psychological opinion leans towards a simpler hypothesis. So far as they are traceable to internal causes, all these transformations of character are regarded as by-products of the one fundamental change that we have already noticed: they arise from the perfecting of the sexual glands and organs, together with the associated changes in other glands and glandular secretions that inevitably ensue.

The immediate effect seems to be an intensification of all the feelings, and a reinforcement of all the primary impulses and emotions. Hence adolescence is almost always marked by an increase in what the psychologist terms 'general emotionality'. In children of an unrepressed and demonstrative temperament, this change is easily discerned; in those of a more reserved and inhibited type the effects may not be so readily detected, but they are almost invariably there beneath the surface.

Joy and grief, fear and anger, affection and self-assertion, curiosity and disgust—these and other feelings now overtake the child with a suddenness and a violence that he has never known before. Most boys at this age are not only easily susceptible to extreme excitement, but ardently crave for it. Some seem almost to live for these overheated moments of existence. Quiet moods and

gentle enjoyments strike them as insipid. They yearn for whatever is sensational, particularly when they themselves have caused it. This of itself is sufficient to lead to sudden and repeated spasms of misconduct, which the moralist is apt to regard as delinquency or crime.

Among these excitable and unstable adolescents, we may distinguish two broad types or tendencies: there are, first of all, those in whom the *aggressive* emotions are more strongly reinforced, and, secondly, those in whom the inhibitive or *repressive* emotions are more strongly reinforced. The former more easily plunge into open misconduct: the latter are more prone to neurotic disturbances resembling a mild nervous breakdown.

In children who not only feel inwardly these strong emotions but also tend to give vent to them without restraint, the inevitable result is a highly impulsive type of behaviour. 'Everything by starts and nothing long'—this famous phrase or Dryden's might be their motto. First one impulse and then another, then a third, each contradictory to the last, and each in turn excited by the changing situation of the moment, bursts forthwith into action; and the life of the excitable youth becomes a series of abrupt explosions like the pops of a Chinese cracker.

Adolescence is for them an age of extravagance and exaggeration. Whatever the child wants he wants urgently. Whatever purpose comes into his mind is apt for the moment to sweep him off his feet. Youngsters of this type find it almost impossible during this stage to control their feelings and desires; others who can control them are nevertheless apt to find the strain and the tension more dangerous in the long run than a blind and a rash reaction. Thus the proverbial philosophy, which allows the young adolescent to have his fling and expects him to 'sow his wild oats', is based on a psychology that is by no means unsound.

Not every impulse and not every feeling is intensified to precisely the same extent. It is natural psychological

law that those instincts which are just emerging are apt to be the strongest and the most overwhelming at the moment.

This no doubt is largely the explanation of the sudden increase in sex delinquency alike among boys and girls at this stage. It would be erroneous to suppose that the young child is altogether devoid of sexual instincts and sexual interests and that these do not appear until early adolescence. Nevertheless, the physiological ripening of the sex organs at puberty brings with it a marked intensification of the sexual impulses and feelings; and this in turn, as we have already seen, not only confers new possibilities of wrong-doing, but also in itself arouses secret curiosity and sometimes secret alarm. In some the new sex interests may be furtive and concealed. In others they are all too plainly manifest. But in almost every one they are bound to rise near the surface at this stage.

The youth's bewilderment about the new changes that are taking place within him, and his natural eagerness for some kind of explanation, lead him readily to listen to whatever information may be given to him. If the information is not supplied openly and frankly, he is likely to get it from tainted and clandestine sources. The increasing dangers and risks make what is popularly termed sex enlightenment of supreme importance at this age. Unless, however, such enlightenment is given in the proper way, it may easily do more harm than good, even when imparted with the best of intentions. Although we now recognize the need for special information on this special subject, that does not mean that the information must be given in a special way or with special emphasis. To treat the subject of sex as a unique and occult topic quite unlike all others, will be to surround it with an air of mystery and attraction that may turn the new knowledge into a source of new temptation. There is no reason why lapses of sex, any more than other serious lapses, should be met with emotions of horror and disgust; nor, on the other hand, is there any reason why the sexual impulse, any more than other natural impulses, should

be glorified and sentimentalized by linking it with false romanticism. Every instinct and every emotion have their romantic side, just as they also have their own criminal possibilities. There is no need to exaggerate either in the case of sex.

Heart to heart talks on the matter, therefore, to a group of boys alone, or to an individual boy alone, are likely not only to be painful for the listener, but even to end in precisely the opposite effect from that which is desired. Such methods are more likely to increase sexual obsessions than to dissipate them. Information on sexual problems should arise incidentally out of the natural course of general instruction, not be concentrated into a special lecture of its own. If given in school, it may arise quite naturally during lessons on biology, natural history, physiology, hygiene, and social conditions. Whenever a sexual question crops up, no matter what the context may be, it should never be evaded or taboo'd. To gather all such information together under the sensational heading of sex and impart it, as it were, in a lump, is as injurious as it is absurd. In certain cases, no doubt, private and personal talks in addition may be desirable; but these cases are probably exceptional. Indeed, most of them arise solely because of evasion and repression in the past.

The second point to realize is that there are wide differences between one boy and another, both in knowledge already obtained and in sexual interests and emotions. To treat every youth alike, therefore, would be a great mistake. When parents inquire what is the information they are to give at any particular age, the best answer is this: If the child has grown up naturally and openly, free to inquire and answered with frankness, then it will be found that whatever question he puts at any particular stage will give the best indication of the topics on which he is ready to be informed. If, having been brought up in this candid way, he nevertheless does not seek for knowledge on any particular point, then that may be accepted as an indication that he is not yet ripe for it, or at any rate not yet interested in it; there is no need to force it inopportunistically on his notice.

A change which is closely linked up with the development of sexual instincts, and which is almost as striking, is the sudden reinforcement of the social or gregarious instincts. The two go very largely hand in hand. The psycho-analyst would probably say that the rapid increase of interest in persons and in social situations is itself a manifestation of the sex instinct. It would perhaps be better to say that the interest in persons of the opposite sex is a manifestation of a more general interest in persons of every kind.

Whatever be the relation between the two groups of impulses, there can be no doubt that what is sometimes called the herd instinct comes more and more to the fore at this stage. The tiny child is generally solitary in his play: when surrounded by others, he usually remains absorbed in his own doings; he will play among other children rather than with them. Towards the age of 9 or 10 he is quite capable of choosing another companion and to a limited extent of co-operating with him in his games. But at this age the average lad will seldom join in team games, and rarely cares to take part in organized sport. Towards early adolescence, however, he tends more and more to play in groups. The tendency is spontaneous. If an established team or club is not available, then he and his friends will form themselves into gangs and cliques. Young criminals, like young wolves, usually hunt in packs. The union not only gives them an added sense of power, but also it intensifies all the emotions that are common to the entire group. Everyone knows how in a crowd or a gang excitement spreads by a kind of contagion. The feelings that are passed along in this way must necessarily be feelings of which all the members of the crowd are capable. Hence they will generally be feelings that can be shared even by the lowest and the most degraded. The consequence is that the morals of the gang are not the morals of the best nor even of the average, but, so to speak, the lowest common denominator. The leader of such a gang, if there be a leader, will generally be the youth who most readily reacts with, and is able to play most powerfully upon, all the primitive instincts.

He will himself be one of the most aggressive and the most excitable of the members, not necessarily the most intelligent or the most enlightened. Hence arises a curious paradox: that the social instinct may itself be the source of many anti-social impulses.

The influence of the gang spirit over the members who join these loose organizations is at times remarkable. In an inquiry carried out by the Juvenile Organizations Committee, over 60 per cent of the delinquent boys studied during their investigation are said to have been 'working in gangs'. In the report of the Scottish Council of Juvenile Organizations the figure is very much the same. At first these joint activities are comparatively harmless. Boys of 12 or 13 combine into little cliques and play pirates and robbers or cowboys and Red Indians. During the week-ends or the summer holidays they will go far afield hunting, fishing, birds'-nesting, and the like. In towns the spirit of adventure which might find harmless outlets in a country district is apt to lead such youngsters into unlawful enterprises which owe part of their excitement to the very fact that they are forbidden. A little later these gangs become more self-conscious, invent initiatory rites, and christen themselves with titles usually borrowed from the film—the Cop Dodgers, the Black-hand League, the Belt and Pistol Club. In earlier days these hordes of hooligans were often the terror of their district: Charles Booth in his inquiry on *Life and Labour in London* gives a vivid description of the youthful bands that once terrorized the streets of Hoxton. Nowadays the offences committed are generally of a more paltry nature—gambling, mischievous damage, playing forbidden games in public thoroughfares, and the like. Occasionally, however, organized burglary and theft are carried out by groups of adolescent youths, and homosexual practices—often an item in the ceremony of initiation—are not infrequent.

Among social creatures such as man, two special instincts of high importance appear to have been evolved. We may call them instincts of self-assertion and self-

submission. They come much to the fore at this period, usually in connection with the sexual and the social impulses. Loosely they correspond to what in ordinary speech are called pride and humility respectively. In most young criminals the self-assertive impulse is strongly developed. From its very nature it is apt to reinforce whatever adventurous or aggressive tendencies their nature may contain. The older delinquent loves to make an impression and to assert his own authority. Often his feats of daring and defiance are simply the outcome of a craze for self-display—a vain desire for admiration. When thwarted, this self-assertive tendency may develop into a form of stubborn perversity: and when others try to assert their authority over him, the lad responds by an exhibition of perverse independence. He becomes, as the psychologist puts it, 'contra-suggestible', or, in the schoolmaster's phrase, 'afflicted with a double dose of cussedness.'

In a child who has hitherto been submissive and obedient this new trait may cause much misgiving in the minds of the parents. Unfortunately they often choose the very course which is calculated to heighten it, and try to argue him into compliance instead of giving him freer rein. They must remember that a desire for independence is a natural outcome of increased size and strength and of the general self-consciousness that marks the final stages of growth. It may be added, too, that, not infrequently, an excessive show of arrogance and self-assertion really covers a private sense of personal inferiority. Secretly the noisy bully is often exceedingly sensitive and shy.

Other impulses, apparently related to the impulse of self-assertion, seem to develop, or at any rate to become strongly reinforced, at the same time—pugnacity, curiosity, cruelty, and the like. Readers of school stories will remember how set fights between boys grow more and more frequent towards the age of adolescence. Closely connected with pugnacity and anger is the desire to inflict pain. Cruelty may rise to the surface at almost

any age; but the systematic cruelty of the bully is perhaps commonest towards the penultimate phase of the school-boy's life. The gruesome pleasure extracted from these subtler forms of torture at times suggests to the observer that the youth is highly pathological. Yet almost every public schoolboy has encountered such practices in more or less elaborate forms. 'Corkscrews, Ag-Ags, Rockin', Head-knucklin', Arm-twistin', Brush-drill (which requires no brush), and the key (which has no key at all but hurts excessively)'—this, as readers of Kipling's story will remember, was Stalky's comprehensive list. Perhaps at bottom the inspiring motive is once again a perverted self-assertion—a craving to feel and express power.

The instinct of self-submission is quite as characteristic of the social animal as the instinct of self-assertion or self-display. We often hear how criminal youths, assertive bullies perhaps when dealing with the young and weak, will nevertheless cringe and cower before those who are stronger or more masterful than they. Many petty delinquencies are assigned to the delinquent's 'weak will'. When he is with his gang or when he is under the influence of an older and stronger leader, such a youth may find it all but impossible to resist the suggestions placed upon him. He acts as a cat's-paw to carry out the enterprises which the wilier youth has invented but is too shrewd to carry out himself.

But the emotions that are reinforced by puberty are not exclusively aggressive. Some may exert a definitely inhibitive and repressive influence. Consequently they are more likely to restrain delinquency than to encourage it. It is, therefore, a lack of these controlling impulses rather than an increase in them that characterizes the delinquent; and, when they are uppermost, the child is more likely to appear quiet and timid than daring and full of enterprise.

Nevertheless, in an indirect way these inhibitive influences may also at times have a harmful effect. Excessive fear, excessive disgust, excessive melancholy, may reduce the child to a nervous condition in which he may suddenly

break out into misconduct, specifically perhaps to relieve the strain, without quite realizing what he is about. An appreciable proportion of adolescent delinquents are of this ill-balanced and neurotic type.

Often the two kinds of emotion alternate with one another : first one is uppermost, then the other. Excitable phases are followed by lethargic phases ; and the child's moods change like a weather-cock. In the quiet and repressed phase, the child will abandon himself to a good deal of fantasy and day-dreaming: in such conditions he is apt to come into conflict with teachers and parents on the grounds of laziness. His lessons and other tasks may be shirked. To avoid legitimate reproaches he begins to hide his shortcomings by deceit and lying : and a career of dishonesty is thus begun.

During his spells of day-dreaming, too, he may give himself up to all sorts of wild imaginations, and concoct in fancy adventurous schemes which later on he may put into practice. At other times, too, it is his worries and grievances that occupy his thoughts. They get magnified, and obsess him continually, until his mental state is not far removed from that of a patient suffering from absurd delusions. He begins to develop grudges against various persons—his friends, his parents and his teachers ; and not infrequently in a mood of wild resentment, commits some foolish crime : he will steal or damage their property, write anonymous and abusive letters, or seek in some equally irrational fashion to vent his hostile feelings.

But of all the characteristics of adolescence perhaps the most important is the rapid growth of self-consciousness. It has innumerable manifestations. In some it leads to shy and awkward behaviour; in others to artificial and affected posing ; in others again to daring enterprises carried out with some wild desire to impress. Inwardly this increased self-consciousness will often make the child exceedingly sensitive. Anything, therefore, that hurts his feelings is likely to provoke an exaggerated reaction out of all proportion to the stimulus that occasions it. At the same

time this consciousness of self may be turned into a useful lever. Self-consciousness is the germ of self-respect; and by aiding the youth to build up a high ideal of conduct for himself it is, as a rule, not difficult to guide him into better paths.

The most difficult cases are those of disharmony in general development. In many instances such anomalies are but transitory. Time and the spontaneous adjustments of natural growth will right the trouble of themselves.

During the period of uneven growth, there are many simple expedients that will serve to bridge the passing crisis. The boy who, by some freak of physical development, is exceptionally big or exceptionally tiny for his age should be put where he will feel his anomaly as lightly as possible. At school he should be placed with children of his own size, rather than of his own age or intellectual standing. When he leaves school, an occupation should be found for him in which his peculiarity will be an asset and a help, not an embarrassment or a ground for ridicule. Elsewhere I have told the story of a lad of 16, a small but well-proportioned dwarf, who was working in a factory with boys ten inches taller than himself, and day after day was scoffed at, nagged at, and hooted at, until he became wholly unmanageable; no sooner was he sent as a page to an hotel, and put into a gold-laced uniform, than he recovered his self-respect, and lost all his desperate ways. The big, overgrown youth, who looks a man before he is 15, often takes the remedy into his own hands; after some petty squabble with his family, he runs away from home to enlist or join a ship: he will perhaps overstate his age; but his subsequent career is often so successful that one is tempted to suggest that physique, rather than age by the calendar, should be the qualifying factor. Many who go abroad take well to a rough life upon a ranch; others, remaining in their own country, still do best upon the land. So long as such a lad is kept at home, both father and mother must realize that they cannot reasonably expect to dominate a huge fellow, however young, as though he were still a small child of normal build.

Should serious offences already have been committed, and should criminal habits already have taken root, it may, in rarer cases, be wisest to remove the lad forthwith to some reformative establishment, where he may be fitly trained and firmly piloted through the period of unsteady growth—where he may be kept under close discipline and supervision, until his intelligence and experience have once more caught up with his physique, and the unstable stage of puberty is over.

More recently experiments have been made on the possibility of correcting these peculiarities of growth by the administration of glandular extracts. Where the glands are over-active, some enthusiasts have even recommended extirpating the glands themselves. At present, however, all such forms of treatment are little more than experimental. To surgical measures, where no obvious illness exists, opinion in this country is strongly opposed. On the other hand, to mild forms of glandular therapy little objection is generally raised. But, at the same time, a study of experimental results indicates that with the present state of knowledge small benefit can be anticipated. No doubt in the near future the subsequent advances of bio-chemistry will throw much light on the whole problem of temperament and directly aid in the cure of its disorders. For the time being, however, treatment along social and psychological lines must remain at once more effective and more urgent than treatment by medical or surgical means.

In general the critical phases are short and sharp ; but the process of settling down may be lengthy. Adolescence is not a rapid, wholesale change—a sudden leap from youth to manhood. It begins gradually and lasts for long. It is, indeed, merely the climax of a slow process of development that has been going steadily forward since the hour of birth.

Tolerance, therefore, and patience must be the watch-words. Lecturing and sermonizing are not likely to have much effect ; it is far better to see that the boy is placed in a wholesome atmosphere, allowed to mix with healthy

companions, and protected from contamination by those who are already corrupted. As he leaves school and goes out into adult life, he will meet others who have very different creeds, very different codes, and very different conventions from himself and his family. This unexpected clash will of itself encourage him to question and doubt much that he has hitherto taken for granted. And here once again, during this period of scepticism and bewilderment, an understanding counsellor will be of great assistance, showing him that others have questioned these things before, and indicating more, perhaps by actions than by words, what is the best solution.

Where criminal tendencies have not declared themselves before adolescence, there is every hope that their appearance may prove nothing but a passing phase. It may then be legitimately argued that they are due primarily to the stress and strain of the adolescent period, not to the natural constitution of the child. It is, therefore, the phase, rather than the individual, that calls for specific measures; and every precaution must be taken lest the way the child is treated should aggravate, instead of relieving, the difficulties of his condition. Puberty, let me repeat, is not a break but a culmination. Hence, what is wanted is not so much a new and special care for the adolescent boy as such, but a continuous prolongation of the training, moral, social, and intellectual, which he has enjoyed from infancy upwards, and which is now in danger of being cut off as he leaves school for a more independent life. He needs a gentle and more gradual weaning, an easier introduction to his new responsibilities, and an early and more fitting preparation for the inevitable change to adult life, before the change itself takes place.

THE WELL-STOCKED AND DISCIPLINED MIND

By J. E. BARTON

TWO IMPORTANT AND complementary aspects of education are suggested by the title of this chapter. The acquisition of useful or inspiring knowledge has always been considered necessary for man's development, but it is not less desirable that the acquiring mind itself should be trained in the habits of response, reception, and selection. Shakespeare hits off a familiar type when his philosopher cites the fool in the forest as having a brain oddly crammed with observation, but venting what he knows 'in mangled forms'.

Nobody who has watched our systems of education during the past fifty years can fail to wonder if the expansion of material to be learned has been mated with an equal growth of wisdom in the digestion of learning. The merely 'well-informed' man can be a terrible bore, and at worst a learned ass. If the learner knows how to transform his knowledge into real nutriment for the inner self—to dissolve it, so to speak, in such a way that the self can maintain a genuine unity of feeling and outlook—he becomes a man of culture. Education fails unless it leads us along this path. All cranks and faddists are persons who have acquired facts or ideas out of proportion. Their minds, being undisciplined, distort experience by seeing a few things out of true relation to everything else. When we say that such people have no sense of humour, we mean that they have no scale, and therefore no fineness, of perception.

In school and academic life the actual amount of learning set before the student has increased enormously over the past half-century. All sorts of new subjects have been invented, and the old subjects have been so far

extended in scope as sometimes to be hardly recognizable for the same. In the nineteenth century we often heard tales of men who were supposed to be omniscient. To-day such legends would be merely absurd. Instead of admiring the inclusive range, we now tend to over-estimate the specialist. I recall an undergraduate who almost with bated breath declared of one *savant* that 'he knew more about the mathematics of the soap-bubble than any man alive'. In many fields of modern research the practical needs of our time enforce a type of lifelong concentration which in no previous age would have been credited.

Much of the specializing which now goes on among teachers and pupils has arisen from the plausible doctrine that every subject should be taught by an expert. The expert, naturally, sets a high value on his subject-matter, and demands that others should study it in a connected and logical way. The old-fashioned type of public school was content to exact a certain thoroughness in a few things such as Latin and algebra, while the other subjects— included in the prospectus by convention or fashion— were treated rather casually, or even became a recreative interval for the boys, who picked up scraps of information with little idea of any connecting principle. In these days we frown severely on all that sort of thing. Any parent who glances at the public examination papers set to boys of 15 or 16 will muse on the change since his own school-days, and may wonder, in the spirit of the rustics who gazed with awe at Goldsmith's village schoolmaster, how one small head can cope with so many departments of knowledge, each so fearfully arrayed with its own scientific jargon and classification.

One reason why reforms in our examination system are now urgently called for is that we have begun to see how easily the boy himself, as a personal whole, may be overlooked in this ever-tightening competition for his soul among diverse masters and examiners. It is quite true that boys to-day touch the world, mentally, in a more versatile fashion than was possible for their parents.

Superficially, there has been some gain of general intelligence, and a wholesome decline of the pedantry which was fostered by one rather exclusive sort of verbal training. But if we test the results of the modern system by the evidence of pupils who have converted their school studies into lifelong pursuits of reading and thinking for their own enjoyment, it would seem as if most youthful minds are now being miscellaneously, rather than well, stocked: and that the discipline, which produces unity, is extremely hard to achieve in any scheme which asks for so many things, at the same time, from one tender brain.

A common defence of our enlarged modern curriculum is that it allows more room for the variety of taste and temperament. This is true up to a point. We now see, for instance, that linguistic or abstract studies have often been unduly forced upon boys whose self-expression is mainly visual or manual. The old bookish sort of culture is alien from a multitude of eager young people who are growing up in a mechanistic age, that seeks to transform civilization by new constructive design. But for all learners alike—whether their bent be literary, or scientific, or mechanical—there remains the basic truth that they can never become creative persons unless the matter of their learning has been so absorbed into their natures as to become a form of living.

The modern school shows a striking difference between the boy who only reaches the First Certificate stage, and the other boy who is able for two or three years more, in a good Sixth Form, to pursue a few congenial studies in an atmosphere of relative leisure and spaciousness. I don't deny that Sixth Form syllabuses are often overcrowded. Many college authorities seem to think that clever boys should cover a good deal of their university course before they arrive. But, broadly speaking, the capable Sixth Form boy, if he has survived the earlier routine cramming in good health and spirits, can enjoy some taste of real education, in which the knowledge and the discipline are reasonably blended.

What reformers of school life now principally aim at is to produce the conditions in which a majority of pupils, though they cannot go so far in a purely scholastic sense, may get the *kind* of education which hitherto has been reserved for the fortunate few. When we know that only a small proportion of our boys will ever attain what is called 'advanced' scholarship, what is the use of treating all boys, in their junior classes, as if they were potential scholars? This mistaken policy, due to the fact that school education has been too exclusively governed by academic people and standards, is the cause of our present congestion and dissatisfaction in the secondary and public school. The teachers themselves are the product of the system which they perpetuate. In old days, however crude in some respects the teaching of the jack-of-all-trades 'form master' may have been, he did at least get an all-round view of the individual boy. I see no reason why—with suitably drastic changes in our examination methods—we should not return to what was good in the Victorian school, even though we must continue, for the most part, to have particular subjects taught by specially trained men. There are indeed healthy signs in the more recent schemes of professional training for teachers. Along with his academic learning, the future teacher is being encouraged to regard his pupils with a non-academic interest, as human beings who come to school with the object of being helped to live happily as well as efficiently.

'Disciplined' is a word that lends itself to misunderstanding, because we have so long associated it with the Puritan or military idea of submission to painful rules for the sake of moral improvement or collective docility. Everybody knows that the natural human animal is indolent, taking the easy line of go-as-you-please, and it would be foolish to say young minds cannot profit by strict rules in the early stages of learning, even if such rules have to be applied in a somewhat external and mechanical way. But a disciplined mind, in the true sense, is far from being a mind which rejoices, or acquiesces, in submission. No rule has value in the long run, unless it is

built on some essential principle, alike in the subject learned and in the method of approaching it. We can only call a mind truly disciplined when it has grasped the essence of any particular pursuit or study, and would be miserable if any of its workings were felt to be vague or disconnected. All worthy human studies begin with a certain amount of unavoidable drudgery, but the achieving of this groundwork is at last rewarded by a conscious delight in clear understanding. Authentic discipline, without which no creative art can flourish, is the self-imposed training whereby the apprentice and the journeyman rise gradually to the joyful powers of the master.

The pedant is not a genuine example of the disciplined mind. He may illustrate the strange capacity, possessed by many people of studious habit, for scorning delights as most men understand them, and finding a stolid satisfaction in facts and rules for their own sake. But he stops short of the illumination which enables the real scholar to see the whole of his subject as an ordered landscape, related in turn to the universe of life. Pedants distrust generalizations, and pay too much attention to what is minor and incidental. Dr. Johnson warned readers of literature that it was a mistake to dwell on the parts of a book until the whole had been surveyed. The discipline that helps a man to discern a writer's central meaning and quality is worlds apart from the merely laborious accuracy by which he can discover small oddities or errors.

There is a fashion to-day in academic circles to over-estimate what is known as 'research.' Students are often required to devote a considerable portion of their precious formative years—years in which it is all-important that the mind should be familiarized with broad principles, leading ideas, and creative masterpieces—to an intensive pursuit of some isolated or even futile topic of their 'subject.' In theory the value of this sort of training is to bring the learner into contact with 'original sources.' He concentrates minutely upon some such matter, say, as a local phase of medieval economics, or the obscurer

detail of some minor poet's biography, and with the help of documents from museums and libraries he builds up what aspires to be a positive addition, however small, to the sum of human learning.

Here again, in quite a plausible form, is the mistake we have seen in ordinary school education: I mean the assumption that what we ought to cultivate is the scholastic mind, fitted to cope with specialized material. Some forty years ago an interesting discussion followed a comparison of two lists of 'the hundred best books,' suggested respectively by Lubbock and the erudite historian Lord Acton. Most of Acton's books had never been heard of by the general run of educated people; but one critic assured us that we had no need to be unduly abashed. 'Acton's books,' he said, 'are books of knowledge: Lubbock's books are books of power.' In other words, the study that matters is the study that helps us to live. We shall always need the real scholar, the man who can carry out genuine research into problems which are, or may be, of true intellectual interest. But scholars as a class are prone to think too much about the technique of learning, without asking themselves: 'What is the good of this or that, even if we do learn it?'

When Mr. Shaw defined the learned man as 'an idler who kills time by study,' he was not thinking of the world's real contributors to vital knowledge. He had in mind the mere accumulation of facts or statements so often pursued as an end in itself, with little relation to, and next to no importance for, our life in general. The world of civilized culture is not created by mere gatherers, who pile up material as coral insects gradually build their reef. Acquisitiveness of this kind, even though it may show a good deal of skill and industry and patience, is largely wasted effort. Our libraries and museums are already overstocked with its consequences. One of the most striking things about the Greek civilization, which has had so stimulating an influence on the life of mankind, is the impression it gives of springing from the soil of realities, without dependence on academic or documentary studies of the kind by which we now set too much store.

To think of Greece in her best days is to be reminded of a fundamental truth with regard to the topic of this chapter: the truth that we cannot even begin to decide what is good for the mind until we have formed some reasonable and consistent notion of the partnership of man's mind with his body and his soul. Everybody now agrees that education is a tripartite affair of moral, intellectual, and physical training: but it is the peculiar glory of Greece that she was able to evolve—long before her philosophers and historians theorized about it—a conception of life in which a harmony of those three factors was regarded as the outstanding aim and virtue. Matthew Arnold dwells on the 'high seriousness' and 'nobility' of Homer, who became a sort of Bible for the Greeks before they had learned to read and write. The quality Arnold felt in Homer's poetry, and the eternal lesson so many subsequent ages have discovered in Greek building and sculpture, drama and philosophy, may be summed up in the fact that ancient Greece not only admired, but in all her best works made visible, the dignified sort of human freedom in which man can achieve a balanced *wholeness* of living.

In our own day we usually think of men as conforming to certain different and recognizable types. Even at school we classify the minds of our pupils as 'literary' or 'scientific': and while we all admit the place of religion, or of games, in any complete education, we conceive of the whole scheme as an addition sum, rather than as a unity from which each element is inseparable. I doubt if anybody now, for instance, can quite enter into the Greek feeling for games as a definitely religious function. The artist, the athlete, the religious man, the good citizen, are conceived by us in separate images. A fully developed ancient Athenian saw all those sides of life together. They were all essential to the body politic. The Greeks had no distinctive word for 'art' as we now understand it, and could not think of a man being 'good,' unless he were good in relation to society and his own city. 'Public spirit' is with us a fairly recent phrase; a Greek without public spirit would have been regarded as on the level

of a slave. 'Handsome is as handsome does' would have seemed to the Greek mind obviously untrue: physical perfection was honestly perceived as a divine gift, and the lack of it was felt to be in due measure deplorable.

I mention these points because there are signs that the modern cultural world—of course with all sorts of incidental differences—is returning to the Greek ideal of life as a free completeness. The more interesting centres of modern urban civilization, cities such as Stockholm for example, suggest irresistibly that our age is reviving the Greek power of creating a visibly ennobling environment for citizenship. The Christian religion has probed far more deeply into life's personal problems than the Greek. It offers consolations unknown to the pagan world. It has given us a wider belief in the virtues that spring from love and humility, and by setting a high value on the individual soul it has made such institutions as a very almost unthinkable to the higher sort of modern person. Nevertheless, the Greek unity of outlook, within its range, remains unique: and for many modern minds there is a hopeful conjecture that ultimate solutions may be found in a synthesis of Christian and Hellenic thought. No mind can be well-stocked, let alone well disciplined, unless we have some broadly directing compass-point in our educational policy. What was intuitive in a Greek mind has to be conscious in ours, but for the immediate future we shall not go far wrong if we cling firmly, in all projects of intellectual training, to the classical axiom of the whole man. The humanist in education does not think of life in compartments. He sees personality as something that results from mind, body, and soul in constant interaction.

In this country we are too familiar with a supposed antithesis between intellectualism and character-building. We no longer actually quote the injunction—

'Be good, sweet child, and let who will be clever':

but on school platforms even to-day there is often a suggestion that in Britain, where solidity and soundness are so highly esteemed, there is no need to be over-

anxious about developing the purely intellectual gifts. In this respect, as in so many others, the English attitude is paradoxical. A nation whose poets are the admiration of the world is behaving oddly when it disparages intelligence and imagination. The very word 'culture,' though Matthew Arnold used it so freely, is shied at by many English speakers, though they will give us 'character' in endless repetition. To fear priggishness is all very well, but the plain fact is that a people, just as a man, may be judged by the kind of priggishness it avoids. Frenchmen and Germans have no hesitation in enlivening ordinary social life with all sorts of cultural interests. It is often said that the highly civilized Central and Northern peoples of Europe have ten young men who are really interested in art and literature, science and discovery, for every one who exists in England. Perhaps we have the other nine, concealing their mental qualities for fear of being laughed at. If so, the concealment is a bad symptom and nothing to be proud of. It may or may not be true that Englishmen are still brought up to regard with patronizing airs the foreigner who goes in for culture; but there is no doubt at all that the English public insistence on righteousness is a cause of amusement to other nations.

I fancy our inarticulateness about things of the mind is only a product of the last two centuries. It seems to have grown up in connection with our mental picture of the English gentleman as he was invented in the eighteenth century club and coffee-house. The older universities and the public schools, throughout the class-conscious nineteenth century, encouraged a type of reserved gentility by way of carrying on the Georgian tradition. The cult of 'character' in the Arnoldian English school has been largely snobbish. It worships the supposed aristocratic leader and man of action, who has little use for words or sentiments, but is for that very reason an empire-builder and the salt of the earth. Most of Rudyard Kipling's Anglo-Indians are tainted with this foible: a code of behaviour and a view of life which discount many of the finer sensibilities, and unconsciously employ the real virtues of modesty and 'team spirit' as a disguise for

impregnable conceit and a quite ludicrous sense of social and racial superiority. Our Elizabethan ancestors, I am sure, were nearer to nature. In Shakespearean drama we hear them abounding freely in self-expression, while they shrug their shoulders and snap their fingers with the zest of stage Frenchmen. Nothing is more fatal to intelligence than a false conception of dignity, and cultural progress in England has been seriously hampered by the fact that our leading educational institutions have so long been secretly obsessed by the consciousness that they confer a sort of personal distinction unattainable for the common herd. True fastidiousness, which means a delicate sense of values, is the very opposite of snobbishness, which comes from a reliance on labels. The well-stocked mind has no use for labels, because it is preoccupied with so many interesting realities.

An obvious problem in training the youthful mind is to hold the balance between what must be learned, as an equipment for gaining a livelihood in the world as it is, and what should be learned, as a means of enlarging life itself, and thereby of contributing to a better world. 'Stock' is a verb that seems only too literally applicable with regard to modern needs in the way of vocational instruction. If a man is to attain success in a business or profession, he is more and more compelled to follow one narrow line of self-development during his working hours. The youth who is destined for some career involving (for example) an intensive study of some branch of natural science will have to give a great deal of time to that sort of knowledge, long before he leaves school at 18. But if we look at the men who have been important in that field—men like T. H. Huxley—we notice that their intellectual range and diet have seldom been confined to direct studies of their own department. A Huxley is able to inspire others in the biological field, and to connect biology with the main issues of social life as they affect everybody, just because he brings to his special researches a mind that has been broadly educated by contact with such things as poetry and history and philosophy. In these days I should also be inclined to turn the same idea

the other way round, and to say that no man could add much to poetry or history or philosophy, unless he had some degree of sympathetic touch with the ever-widening realm of scientific progress. The type of mind I should call 'modern' in the best sense is a mind in which the literary, the æsthetic, and the scientific elements are not only blended, but utilized in an effort to understand the big questions of social happiness and human destiny.

If culture is 'to know the best that has been said and thought in the world,' we may infer that the well-stocked mind has made some acquaintance with the master-spirits of all ages. Knowledge in the bald sense can be got from a manual. But the knowledge which amounts to power can only be conveyed through a medium of personality. Direct reading of great literature was never so necessary as it is to-day. Our educated ancestors had to read, if only out of sheer boredom. But we are surrounded by so many short cuts to knowledge, so many abridgements and snippets and journalistic versions of truth or fancy, that we may too easily accept these innutritious substitutes for the real thing. Ask a present-day school-boy if he knows *The Mill on the Floss*, and he may reply that he has heard it on the wireless. The more I have seen of modern school life, the more convinced I am that it fails, unless it persuades the learner to go to books for himself. With all their necessary and laudable devotion of time to social objects and gregarious public interests, the men who are to serve the community best, by redeeming it from dull mediocre standards, *must* carve out liberal portions of time for private reading. Bookishness and the bookworm are quite out of fashion—perhaps deservedly so—but nothing can replace the nurture for mind and soul that comes from literature of the highest order.

A logical but prosaic intelligence may ask what is the practical value of imaginative literature, such as poetry or creative fiction. The best answer I have heard to this question was given by an exceptionally well-read artisan, who declared: 'Good fiction educates the sentiments!'

Assuming that we cannot separate a man's mental life from his emotional and social responses, it is obviously desirable that he should meet—through their written words—the great men and women who can communicate to him something of their own sensitiveness and sympathy. I have never known a life-long lover of poetry and good novels who was a bigot or a crank or a fanatic. Here lies the fundamental value which most people, more or less clearly, recognize in Shakespeare. Beneath and beyond all the exquisite verbal flavours he can offer to the discerning palate, he encourages a large and liberal view of human beings in their 'strange eventful history.' His is the great companionable mind, which lends to ours a little of its own mellow and forgiving comprehension. He summed up life in the phrase 'Ripeness is all'; and when we read that, we feel that the acquisition of knowledge can be a pathetic failure, unless it brings with it a wider breath of sanity and tolerance.

This is no place for literary discussion of a controversial kind, but I may suggest that in choosing authors for general enlightenment it is possible to distinguish between the broader classics, who are food for everybody except the mentally inane, and those other distinguished writers whose merits, however real, are not intelligible to the multitude. It is a pity that school examinations and syllabuses so often force boys and girls to 'get up' books which are more important in the historical study of literature than as direct aids to feeling, thinking, and living. Burke's *Thoughts on the Present Discontents* is no doubt an interesting document for qualified students, but I shall never forget the tribulation of having to read it with an utterly bored sixth form.

One aspect of the well-stocked and disciplined mind, peculiarly important in our own time, is its capacity of appreciating the vast outward and visual changes by which the man-made world is now everywhere being transformed. Ours is one of the renaissance periods of history, in respect of the new forms and materials by which man is striving to express his social and civic ideals. Fifty

years ago it was still possible in general education to ignore all matters of architectural or sculptural or graphic or industrial design, as if they concerned only a few connoisseurs. To-day we realize that the word 'art' has been far too limited in its application, and that for us, as for the men of the cathedral-building age, it is vitally necessary to see that our aspirations are clothed in shapes not feebly imitative of the past, but fresh and sincere as the direct utterance of the time in which we live. No young person is adequately educated to-day unless he or she is grounded in some principles to go upon, in assessing such works as the Mersey Tunnel, the steamship *Orion*, the improvements in the London Underground Railway, and the major planning and housing schemes which embody new conceptions of social responsibility and co-operation. Here again is a realm in which the mind must be well stocked before it can pass judgment. The eighteenth century regarded some measure of feeling for architectural design and proportion as indispensable in the culture of a gentleman. The nineteenth century reduced 'art' to a scholar's hobby or a sentimental pastime. To-day we realize that not only the best that has been thought and said, but also the best that has been offered by men to men's eyes, is an essential part of education.

Time will not serve to put every schoolboy through a course of historical art studies, but if something is done incidentally and pretty often to inculcate certain broad truths, exemplified in the genius of all the big creative ages, our pupils will grow up at least partly freed from the astonishing ignorance and confusion which are now characteristic of most adults—including many who are learned in the bookish sense—when they are faced by any affair of visual appreciation. Bound up with this is the love of orderliness and serenity in all externals of private and public life, a virtue in which the English people of to-day are conspicuously inferior to some other civilized nations. I do not think it is yet fully understood what a useful bearing the trained use of the eyes may have on our other intellectual processes. If we have gained some feeling for proportion and balance of design, whether

in a building or a picture or a piece of furniture, we are much more at home in judging the constructive merits of a poem or a play or a film or a scientific treatise. In these days when young people, as children of their age, are born with a passion for mechanistic adaptations of form to purpose, the soil is ready for the good seed of visual principle. To leave this side of human faculty in a chaos of irrational sentiment and unguided caprice, at a time when the whole face of civilization is so swiftly transforming itself under pressure of new needs and a new outlook, would be criminal neglect.

It has often been said that the twentieth century is a period of social organization, demanding from universities and schools a type of instruction quite different from what was acceptable in the years of nineteenth century individualism. Is it possible for any mind, claiming to be well-stocked and disciplined, to dwell aloof from the growing public spirit by which all living movements now seem to be animated? Nobody can deny that a kindlier and far more comprehensive human code is now active in typical centres of civilization. Behind this progress lies a genuine new public religion, unknown to the more static and more exclusive cultures of the past. So much is now inevitably in the melting-pot that superficial observers accuse our age of barbarism. They miss the important thing—the unmistakable vitality that now urges man not only to seek and know, climb and find, but to create a better world which everybody in time may share. The mind well-stocked and disciplined by a good modern education will be at once eager and discriminating in the part it contributes to the realizing of such dreams. From its stock it will draw eternal truths as well as useful facts. With its discipline it will be enabled to follow serious aims rather than attractive fancies, and to clear up some of the perplexities which a merely vague idealism can never solve.

THE CITIZEN OF TO-DAY

By HAROLD ANSON

(Master of the Temple)

THE WORTH OF every system of education must be judged by the criterion of the end which it proposes to fulfil. You cannot answer the question 'Is this a good school' without asking yourself the further question—'To what end does education aspire?'

Not a few parents, it is to be feared, would answer quite unashamedly that it ought to aim at producing men who can, by outwitting other men, become so quickly rich that they may be able to spend as large a part of their lives as is possible in the pursuit of sport and the pleasure of what is called 'society.'

I was told not very long ago that the majority of parents coming to a large public school with a view of putting down their boys' names would ask (1) What sons of titled families have you here? and (2) What schools do you play at cricket, and with what measure of success? So long as this is the desired end on the part of any considerable number of parents of their sons' education, many schools will be, if even unconsciously, influenced by this desire, and education will be a training in the two arts of snobbery and idleness.

We shall, I hope, all agree that such an idea of education is both false and vicious. What end then shall we propose to ourselves as that goal of education which must necessarily dictate the means to its achievement?

The title of this essay suggests that the right end of education is the production of the good citizen. Man, we believe, is not intended to live a solitary life, he is, as Aristotle says, *πολιτικόν ζῶον*, a political being, a man intended to live in a community. Our education must then have in view the training of men and women

for community life, in which all powers and gifts shall subserve the general needs of community of which they are destined by nature to form part, and by membership of which they can alone come to their full statures.

Man is destined, obviously, to live in not one, but several communities, of various sizes and patterns. The smallest and most intimate of these is the family, a community founded upon sexual choice; the next is the community founded upon propinquity, the village or the city, in which a man is a member by virtue of the locality of his dwelling; another community is that of vocation, the factory or professional guild or union in which he becomes involved through the particular craft in which he works; a still wider community is that of the nation, of those who speak the same language and inherit the same traditions of public life. The largest of all communities, having the most unrestricted claim to allegiance, is that of the religious community founded upon a common dependence upon a recognized universal law and purpose including the whole of humanity within its orbit. Where such an allegiance is believed in and recognized it must necessarily take priority of all others, and be intolerant of all rival claimants to an ultimate sovereignty over the hearts and wills of men.

Education, then, has, as its supreme objective, the setting free of man's intelligence and will from all such entanglements and inhibitions as may prevent his finding his true home in these various communities which await him in life, and through participation in which he comes to his full stature as a man.

It may well be that, in our own country, where 'self-help' has been exalted into being one of the greatest of virtues, a boy may be brought up to regard escape from the community as being a noble and praiseworthy achievement. In a typical proverb of the self-reliant industrial type of Yorkshire man—'Never do owt for nowt, but if tha' do owt for nowt, do it for tha' sen'—we see the depraved ideal of the typical individualist. No wonder that the parent searches for a school where his son will

meet the sons of other men who have prospered by consistently avoiding the entanglements and commitments of all communities whatsoever. In such industrial areas you may watch 'the maister,' the father of the family, walking out in front of his wife and children, who trail behind him, a triumphant assertion in manifest fact of the non-existence of any real community of the family.

The good citizen is then, first and foremost, a member of a family. He has to understand and appreciate the happiness and the limitations of family life. His school should have taught him (it scarcely ever does) something of the nature of the opposite sex to his own, and a great deal about the nature of children, of their need for security, and choice, and power to grow along the lines of their own natural development. His experience at a school should make him a wise father of children. I remember once, when I was head of a College in New Zealand, a parent brought me his son, and, with tears in his eyes, said, 'Stamp him, my dear Sir, stamp him.' I tried my best not to do so and I hope succeeded. The good school will teach boys when they become heads of the family community not to desire to stamp their sons with their own image and superscription, but to help them to realize and develop their own proper image as God designed it to grow.

The relation of the father to his children in after life is often a reflection of the relation of his own school to himself. 'Anything I ever learnt,' says the stalwart, florid father, 'was flogged into me at school,' and it is often sufficiently evident how little that was. The father proceeds to apply the same methods to his own boy. Even more disastrous is the result where a school has specialized in having no discipline at all, and produces men who can control neither themselves nor their own offspring.

The home which is a real co-operative society, in which father and mother and children all find happiness in the realization of their own function in the building and maintaining of the home is a noble product of a finely conceived education of the parents.

The second community for which education has to prepare the good citizen is that which is the outcome of his dwelling-place, the parish in which he lives. This may be, alas, too often the thoroughly unhealthy dormitory suburb of a big city, to which the fairly well-to-do escape, so that they may live at a safe distance from the smoke and fumes created by their daily activities, and from the society of those humble folk on whose labour their prosperity depends.

They will tend to live, such is the depraved habit of our day, segregated into a neighbourhood where no people can live except those who can afford to send their one son or daughter to an expensive school, where there is no natural variety of occupation, no farmers or labourers, carpenters or craftsmen, but only villa-residents, with their obsequious shop-keepers (now giving place to Woolworth and Boots), with a less salubrious quarter (suitable for workmen's dwellings and also for the propagation of rheumatism) where the necessary gardeners, odd-men, and 'chars' reside.

One can but hope that these unnatural growths may disappear with the gradual movement of business into rural neighbourhoods.

An ideal parish should contain one or more factories, farms, gardens, small industries, and the houses where men reside, both rich and poor, near their work, where rich and poor can co-operate, and meet naturally over affairs of local interest.

Every school should be preparing boys and girls for this community life; for co-operation over the business of the parish and district council, over games, and national labour, in which every one should take his share by a conscription based upon an intelligent and ready acceptance of national duty.

Owing to the astonishing lacunæ in our education up to present days, men finish their schooling and come to reside in a parish with no idea whatever as to the government of their own community. They know nothing at all about the Parish Council, the Rural District Council, Public Assistance, Agricultural wages rates, elementary

and secondary schools, and so on. They are therefore for the most part entirely unfitted to take their share among the shop-keepers and farmers who, with much less scholarship, are, in these matters of public welfare, much better educated men.

In many cases these men from expensive schools have come to think that they cannot maintain their health unless they spend most of their leisure in violent physical exercise, so they are ill-fitted to take their place among the quite as healthy tradesmen who have not these obsessions in regard to the maintenance of health and happiness. There is almost always a lack of men duly qualified to take their part in local government.

The continuance of democracy absolutely depends upon a supply of men and women who will take local public life seriously and who can be trusted to learn their job and stick to it at all costs. And how profoundly interesting local government can be! To become responsible for elementary or secondary education, to control footpaths and rights of way, to care for the aged and infirm, even to superintend sewers, all these can be absorbingly interesting. It is foolish to suppose that these are matters easily learnt, and requiring no previous knowledge. It is somewhat shameful that men can grow up after having been through a long and expensive education and have no sort of idea of their responsibilities as parishioners in a democratically governed village or county borough. Such a man will, if he is sufficiently humble, learn many lessons in public work from workmen and labourers who left school when they were fourteen.

Besides the activities of local government the good citizen will take his part in the organization of sport in the community where he lives. These community games, cricket, football, dancing, depend very much for their success upon the co-operation of educated people, and people who have some spare time. These clubs are always rising and falling again because of the great difficulty of getting any people with enough sense of duty

to turn up when they have promised, and shoulder dull routine work. This is just what the educated man ought to be depended upon to do. His prolonged and even exaggerated education in sport ought to make him an ideal leader, and one who has learnt to turn up and do his part, wet or fine, whether he is feeling tired or well, and even if a more amusing invitation comes his way. This is exactly what he ought to have been taught to do until it has become second nature.

We must not forget that our village and town communities have learned and exercised their freedom through the life of Church and Chapel. Whatever the faults and limitations of these institutions may be, and doubtless they are many, yet this country would have been immeasurably poorer if they had never existed.

At the moment, both Church and Chapel are in most places in low water. Here again, they suffer chiefly from the fact that their natural leaders, educated, or at least taught, in far-distant and expensive schools, have never been taught how to express and organize their own sense and need of worship. That such a need exists I hope to be able to show later on in this essay. I only now want to emphasize the fact that these powerful and, on the whole, beneficent forces in local communities are suffering from the withdrawal of their natural leaders, who are often, from sheer laziness and lack of self-discipline, not taking on the leadership which belongs to them. If the type of worship and fellowship prevailing is jejune, sentimental and somnolent is it not largely because these centres of local piety have, in the absence of those who 'with one accord begin to make excuse' fallen into the hands of 'the poor, the maimed, the halt and the blind.' Surely the good citizen cannot set aside this responsibility. He may say, 'I see a new and a better way of satisfying this need, and I propose to organize it.' He cannot rightly ignore the whole problem. In such a matter it is true that 'he that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad.'

The whole problem of the decay of local government, due partly to the segregation of the natural leaders of the local democracy, first of all in distant boarding schools and later on in highly centralized factories and business and government offices, and also to the formation of whole towns, founded upon class, where one class is deliberately and of set intent separated from others, the richer class taking the utmost care to keep out an 'undesirable' type of working class dwellings, is one which may well fill with anxiety the hearts of all who believe in our traditional democracy.

The remedy lies in the hands largely of our educators, who must teach the young how unworthy is a life lived in segregation from manual workers, their pleasures and their anxieties.

The ideal future seems to involve some sort of residential community on the lines of Letchworth, where there is a deliberate attempt to adapt to modern needs the ancient natural growth whereby master and man live close to their factory, and their business life, with large communal areas devoted to art, sport, and learning, and where every class is welcomed in close contiguity and in common association for all human needs.

All areas founded on the separation of classes are corrupt and unnatural. Poplar or Whitechapel are a bedevilment of human life, but not more so than Belgravia or South Kensington. Both are a great denial of human fellowship, and an impoverishment of human values.

The good citizen will then, if he be free to choose his abode, choose a place where there are rich and poor, manual workers and brain workers, old and young. If he be not free to choose, he will, in any case, try to use some of his leisure in taking his part in the public life of his environment, considering himself to be, specially by reason of his education, the servant and friend of all his neighbours.

Another community, as we have seen, in which the good citizen finds himself involved, is that which depends

upon his vocation or trade. Whether he be a lawyer, a soldier, a sailor, a parson, an artist, a doctor or a business man, he will find himself involved in something corresponding to a medieval craft guild. He will find himself encompassed with certain traditions of his own particular craft, rules of professional conduct, some obviously good, others which have obviously served some purpose of a time long passed away.

The good citizen should be able, owing to the education which he has received, to be a valuable member of such professional guilds. He will not, it may be hoped, merely make his influence felt on the lines of what is called 'the old school tie', the spirit which supports a convention or custom merely on the ground that this is the way in which things always have been done in this particular community. Hitherto, the very great amount of good which public-school men have done in professional corporations has been somewhat offset by their uncritical conservative bias in favour of following always along the old ways.

The good citizen will realize, by reason of his own membership in some great school, the value of tradition and comradeship as a safeguard of a certain guaranteed standard in a professional group, ensuring that professional conduct shall not fall below a certain decent level of conduct. The wise man will not disdain to learn and order himself by such a code. It may be, and probably will be, an imperfect code. It is not designed to produce saints or heroes, but only to maintain such a level as, it may be hoped, the average professional man may be expected to maintain. Such a tradition, if not heroic, is by no means despicable.

The hero or the prophet may not require it for himself; he will be wise to submit to it, and take part in working it, maintaining it, and developing it to become a power in constantly changing conditions.

Yet these professional trades-unions, good as they are, have their obvious snares. They tend to stereotype the conduct of professional life. In business they represent,

very often, only one section of a great calling. They may be even hostile to the welfare of a great section of the particular craft they represent. They may, for instance, be guilds wholly of employers, or wholly of the employees, with a tendency to regard themselves as the natural enemies of the sections which they do not represent.

Sometimes, as in some of the City guilds, they may have completely lost all connexion with the craft whose name they bear. The officer may regard his professional honour as something completely different from that of the ranker, speaking of conduct 'befitting an officer and a gentleman' as something widely removed from, and not to be expected from, an ordinary soldier or sailor. Education, by teaching boys of very varied antecedents to live and learn together, should teach the officer and gentlemen that all men are potential officers and gentlemen, and equally ready to exercise these special virtues when the opportunity arises. Education should be a great power in the breaking down of these conventional distinctions between those who rule and those who serve in professional life.

A good education should give men some detailed knowledge of how different classes live, of their virtues and vices, their wages and hours of labour, their characteristic strengths and weaknesses.

The archaic idea that a profession exists primarily to maintain its own privileges and further its own gains is one which the citizen should never cease to combat. The boy who has been brought up at school to believe that his own best efforts must be put forth for a communal cause, and indeed, takes this so much for granted that he has never had need even to formulate this truth as a proposition to be argued, is often the subject of a rude awakening when he realizes that in many, but not all, businesses it is taken for granted that every man is playing for his own hand, and that the firm is quite unashamedly out primarily to destroy its competitors and to fleece the public. A certain inventor went to a firm which manufactures razor blades and informed them that

he had invented a process whereby blades could last twice as long as heretofore. The answer of the firm was that their object was not to sell fewer, but more, blades, and they had no interest at all in a blade which would last longer and curtail their profits. The good citizen will be a man who will work towards the transformation of business from a form of piracy into an organization of public service. This process has, no doubt, already made progress, but there is large scope for an increase in that public spirit which the public school should be able to supply.

The boy brought up in the schools frequented by the sons of the rich often knows less of the virtues and trials of the poor of his own country than he knows of the habits of Russians and Hindus. He cannot be a good citizen until this gap in his education is filled up, as it is being filled by such camps as that with which our present King is so honourably connected. He will then come to know that the virtues which his professional standards of honour encourage are exactly the same virtues which are needed and which often flourish in the street-sweeper or the char-woman.

The next group which the citizen finds awaiting him is that of the nation. He discovers himself as an Englishman. In our own country we take this so much for granted and talk about it so little that we are not even quite sure what we ought to call ourselves and which flag we ought to fly. Are we all English or British? Are *we* British and our language English? Is our country England or Great Britain and Northern Ireland? Germans and Italians need an immense propaganda, unceasingly dinned into their ears, to assure them of their own nationality. To us it is so very obvious and so dear a truth that we talk about it as little as we talk about the virtues of our own mother. We do not boast of our nationality, not because we are naturally humble, but because we are a little sorry for other nations, and feel it is scarcely decent to talk about our nation when it must be so obvious to all men that there is none other like it.

Yet though few Englishmen need any loud-speakers to din into their ears the glories of their citizenship, neither are they backward in time of great stress in offering their own lives for the public need, in times of peace it is not equally obvious to the average citizen that his country needs him. It needs him as a parent. He must be ready to shoulder the very real material sacrifices involved in bringing up a family. A century ago educated men took out to New Zealand picked companies of men to people the distant parts of the Empire. To-day, even if such leaders were forthcoming, it is doubtful whether there are enough young men and women to be spared to people the vacant spaces of our racial heritage. A good education should include some prevision of the nobility as well as of the difficulties of parenthood. We may have much to teach other nations as to the value of free citizenship: it looks as though they may have to teach us the responsibilities of parenthood, if our race is not to perish through voluntary sterility.

It is not to the credit of our democracy that so many natural leaders should be unable to enter public life through lack of money. It ought to be considered a disgrace to any constituency that the first question which is asked of a would-be candidate is 'How much are you prepared to contribute to the local party funds?' We cannot be altogether proud of democratic government so long as men are expected to pay out of their own pockets for shouldering the heavy tasks of parliamentary life. It will be only rarely that the best representatives of the public interest as a whole will be the persons who are ready and able to pay over large sums to fight election contests. It will be one of the tasks of the good citizen to break down this evil system, so derogatory to the good name of democracy and so inimical to any fine conception of Patriotism.

The good patriot is the man who can envisage his own country as one of a brotherhood of nations. He must neither be one of those whose cry is 'My country right or wrong' or of those whose cry is 'My country always

wrong'. He will have imagination (that rare gift) enough to be able to see in international difficulties the point of view of other nations and to be sympathetic with it without undervaluing and decrying his own nation's interest and ideals.

He will, in my own judgment, realize that there are still some situations in which irrational violence can only be repelled by violent resistance, and believe that to suffer death and inflict death is a lesser evil than that the cause of justice should suffer and the weak be overcome by the violence of the strong. He will therefore take it for granted that his country, to whose care he owes his manhood, has a right to ask for his ungrudging service up to the point of the sacrifice of life itself.

This point of view is by no means inconsistent with the belief that coercion by itself can never be anything but a temporary and unsatisfying solution of any difficulty whether in the education of children or of nations. The good citizen will constantly be working towards the ideal of an international commonwealth, and be undeterred by the fact, which has become so sadly obvious in the past few years, that the world is not as yet ready for such a solution.

If then the good citizen has realized in some measure his relationship and duty towards the family, his home town, his profession, his country, and the community of nations, does this complete his obligations? Is there yet some other greater bond of obligation calling him, some more inclusive ideal which beckons him towards a still greater integration of his being with some ultimate and inclusive reality? To the Christian the answer is clear.

Alike in the life and teaching of Christ, there is set before the individual an ideal of an ultimate reality and purpose to which he stands in the relation of an intelligent son to a wise father. He will believe that the history of humanity is a gradual disclosure of an intelligent and beneficent purpose worked out under the constant stresses and failures which are inherent in all progress which refuses to annihilate freedom and self-direction. He

will see in Christ not a model for slavish copying but a universal spirit pervading all history, past, present and future, though manifested at a particular time and place, and subject to the limitations pertaining to that particular point in history. That life will be to him, in its essential methods of encountering all obstacles, in its fundamental envisagement of reality, the ground and norm of all human endeavour.

In its profound teaching of the superiority of love over morality, of mercy over ceremonial convention, of the dominance of the life of the soul over the material means of living, of the divine origin and sacredness of sex, of the criteria of the final judgment upon men's lives, in all this and in much else he will see revealed the true essence of a universal humanism and the true submission of humanism before the majesty of a divine purpose.

Such a view will give a dignity and serenity to living which nothing else can give. It will not be inconsistent with a large measure of reverent agnosticism as to the ultimate goal of life, but such belief will be in itself the goal of all education. Without such a belief possessed and verified no education is really completed: with this belief, constantly enlarged and enriched by conflict with the disappointments and stresses of living, the good citizen will find himself no longer only the citizen of his own country but of that 'Jerusalem above, which is the mother of us all, the city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God'.

THE CITIZEN OF TO-MORROW

By C. B. PURDOM

I

THE GOAL OF education is citizenship: the fitting of the individual to play his part in society. The function of education is, then, to enable young people to enter the inheritance of the past, and to develop their powers so that they may create the future.

To-day youth enters a world in which existing institutions and traditions are challenged. Such fundamental questions as, What is the purpose of society?—What is the function of citizenship?—or, more explicitly, What is the duty of a man to his country at this present time?—face every one on the threshold of citizenship. Young men want to begin a new life. Their task is to create the new, and unless they are able to do this their lives cannot be fulfilled.

The great national movements on the Continent are irresistible because they have captured the spirit of youth moving towards the future. They are not to be discounted; for they represent truth. Their achievements are spectacular and nothing seems impossible to them; they are, indeed, creating new social institutions so powerful and effective that by contrast the institutions of democratic countries appear weak and out-moded. The answer to these new powers is not to attack or to ridicule them—anti-Fascism or anti-Communism give strength to what is opposed—but to surpass them by a new unity not based on force, by new institutions, more scientific and of higher efficiency than theirs, in which men are free.

According to the philosophy of the totalitarian states, Communist, Fascist, and National-Socialist, the surrender and submission of the individual to the State is demanded, and only those who so submit themselves are good citizens. But in the philosophy common to the Western

World, until Marx taught Lenin, Mussolini and Hitler otherwise, a man who is not free is not a citizen at all, for civilization is the association of free men. The new institutions that the age requires are those that belong to a society of men able to take responsibility for their lives. Individuality is the thread upon which all that is creative in man is strung. The denial of individuality is the death of humanity.

Yet the movement of the modern world is towards unity, as the mass movements show. The aeroplane and wireless have brought men so near together that a voice can encircle the world as the words are uttered, and it takes but a few hours to travel from one end of the earth to another. The mass movements, which find in science their ally, are the instinctive efforts of man to unite. Because they are unconscious they are very powerful, and because they are instinctive they succeed. They exist because they must. But men, because of their very nature, cannot do themselves justice while they act instinctively and from unconscious motives. The crowd can never save itself, and the 'leaders' of crowds are themselves subject to the blindness of those whom they lead and are the grand instruments of destruction. The ruthlessness and animality of the modern mass movements, in which no horror becomes too great, are due to the loss of reason, which is the loss of consciousness, the result of the rule of instinct. Men are men when they act from reason and consciously, when they choose for themselves, when intellect is their guide and their hearts move them. Otherwise everything goes wrong and not even the beasts in the jungle, who know no evil, can behave as men behave. Mass movements are anomalies in human society for they belong to a stage of existence that has passed, which explains why they are so terrifying a spectacle. Men are called to consciousness, to individual responsibility, to the task of civilization, and not to blind obedience and surrender for the sake of power. Consciousness comes to birth only in individuals, never in masses; for it is not power but light, the light of personality. Therefore there must be recognition of

personality, for it alone can rightly use power both spiritual and material. The principles that will guide us through the problems of our time are the sacredness of human life and the value of personality.

It is impossible to go against the urge towards unity. Man is essentially one, and the sense of identity cannot be resisted. In a Christian society it should arouse men to the acceptance of the implications of brotherhood so that a social order is developed that is civilized in the highest degree. From which it is clear that the task of the citizen is to create a new civilization. It is to that task that youth is called and in fulfilling which all its enthusiasm and energy can have full play.

So the answer to the question, What does my country require of me to-day? is precisely this—vision and the courage to face the risks of change—change in institutions, in forms of government, in economic systems by which wealth is produced and distributed, change in the social order so that individuals can act in their true functions, and change in cultural activities for perfecting health and developing the mind; in a word, change in *politics*.

II

The science of politics is sociology, which is a synthesis of those sciences which have to do with the social life of men.

Politics is the art of living in communities, and the regulating of relations between communities. It acts always in two directions, inwards and outwards, nationally and internationally; and domestic politics also acts in two ways, locally and nationally. Much is gained when it is realized that the principles are identical in local, national, and international affairs.

Politics is very ancient, its origins are lost in antiquity, existing since settled communities were first formed. No doubt it reached its highest development in the city-states of ancient Greece, and through their great achievement the Western World is pre-eminent in politics.

The science of sociology dates only from the nineteenth century and it is still elementary because its application has been hindered by the decline of politics in the last two or three generations, a decline which threatens to accelerate. The rapid improvement in the conditions of human life—in the production of wealth, in all the mechanical sciences, and in the general standard of living—has not been accompanied by an equivalent political advancement.

The modern ideas of citizenship which have their origin in the Greek city-state have been formed largely on the political philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, which influenced the Christian theological-politicians from St. Augustine to St. Thomas Aquinas. To them the city is the state, which exists for the pursuit of the highest good. In the Platonic sense, the citizen is the legislator. We do well to remind ourselves of Plato's *Laws* and Aristotle's *Politics*; for although the modern world is not ancient Greece, the problems of government remain the same, as they are inherent in human nature. Above all, Plato's *Republic* should be our constant companion; for that marvellous discourse on the question, What is justice? unfolds the spiritual nature of human society and the eternal values are disclosed that make citizenship so noble a thing.

The citizen in the classical meaning is one who belongs to a city—the city being the community with the surrounding area of land on which it depends for its food supply. Civilization is primarily concerned with locality. A city is a place: civilization is the quality of human life belonging to that place. This idea of locality adheres to civilization, no matter how extended the meaning of the word becomes. We live in a particular place, to which are attached our immediate and most fruitful contacts. The part we play in that place, and the quality of its life, to which we contribute and from which we draw our social sustenance, are the most significant elements in the lives of us all.

The late Patrick Geddes was the philosopher of the civilization of place, and his work still remains the most

suggestive among that of all modern writers on civilization. The modern studies of regionalism are inspired by him, the greatest social scientist of our age; his dynamic force is unexpended, and though his books are now inaccessible, they will be read in years to come. Geddes's famous 'Notation of Life,' in which he depicts man proceeding from acts to facts, thence from thoughts to deeds, starts from 'place'—the natural conditions of simple practical life. In a geographical spot where our work is, among our own folk, civilization has its centre, and its perfection and extension throughout the country and the world rest upon its quality at home. So to extract from our own place its richness, to cultivate its fruits, and to put into it what gifts we have, are the primary obligations of civilization, from the discharge of which by its members it gains its form.

The idea of civilization as a national affair, for which the State is responsible and of which the State is the source, is one of those false ideas which have the force of half-truths. There is national civilization to which the communities that compose nations contribute and in which they also share; but the source of civilization is not the State, which is the mechanism of national action; the source is in the localities, the communities, the cities; and the sum of their life with its characteristics, the product of the variety of personality as well as of soil, climate, and local history, makes the civilization that the nation calls its own. This is true of Germany and of Italy, as much as of France and England, and all other countries; save that the new form of authoritarian government, which is a tyranny, imposes a uniformity of ideas, behaviour, and organization which gives the nation a false soul, which is powerful but ruinous, because antagonistic to personality.

Civilization belongs to the city, which is the community, and through the community it extends to the nation. All who love their nation being cherish local culture, and one of the great evils of our time is its decline due to the centralizing tendencies of government,

education, industry and many other activities, so that the millions who live in great cities have no real sense of locality, but depend almost wholly upon the mass associations of work, sport, the cinema, and the reading of newspapers. The culture of craftsmanship and of local productivity of every kind is diminishing under the conditions of modern life, and though, even in great cities, local characteristics inevitably develop, they are to a large extent unhealthy and irresponsible, acquiring the dangerous characteristics of proletarianism. Civilization belongs to the city, but it cannot exist where mechanism is triumphant or where individuality is sacrificed.

Yet civilization also belongs to the nation, because the overthrow of the limitations of locality cannot be ignored. The modern tendencies to which I have referred, so deplored by people of taste, have a significance of their own. The narrowness and insularity of local civilization had to be broadened. Men belong to their nation as well as to their community, and their duties and responsibilities extend beyond local boundaries. The development of transport, radio, and economic interests brings every one within the stream of national life, and isolation is no longer possible. Although a strain is thus placed upon local civilization, the new developments are not necessarily antagonistic to it. We can share in national life and still maintain what belongs to our home. Indeed, it is only the senselessness of modern city life, which has no form nor style, which encourages us to ignore the place in which we live. The heated, shallow, uncertain quality in national life, which is played upon by demagogues, is the product of our modern social and economic systems which prevent the majority of people from having deep roots in locality.

To raise the quality of national civilization by developing the quality and variety of local life is our great need. But national civilization itself is different from local civilization and has its own form. The characteristic features of locality are place and work; the characteristic features of national life are politics and

culture. There is local politics and there is local culture, both composed of richness: indeed, nations cannot exist without them; but there are larger aspects of these activities, which make the nation. Communities must live together as men must; the art by which cities and communities are associated in a nation is that of politics; and the values by which politics is guided are those of culture. The justification of national existence is in political order and cultural achievement. Without order, that is justice, national life is impossible; and without culture, that is intelligence, national life is devoid of meaning. Every nation has its own contribution to make to the world, for national differences are not accidental. These differences we all recognize, they are exhibited unmistakably in language and personalities. Out of them are created the harmony of nations. To preserve those characteristics, which is to maintain the kind of order that belongs to the nation, and to acknowledge its culture, are the sacred duty of each nation, and those peoples who neglect it cannot survive.

Beyond national civilization there is the wider conception of Western Civilization, to which all the nations of Europe belong, as well as America and the British Dominions. Its justification is in religion and economics: without religion, that is the realization of the spiritual nature of man, and without economics, that is the sharing of wealth, it would not exist.

And, finally, beyond Western Civilization there is World Civilization, at present an idea, existing without recognition and without means of expression, the greatest idea of all, for it is the all-inclusive idea of humanity. Its justification is not in man, or in anything on the earth, but in God.

To write of God in this connection is perhaps strange when we consider that the first attempt to establish the nucleus of a world society, the League of Nations, was embarked upon without mention of that name. But the idea of God is to me that of a universality that includes all worlds, in which man moves towards that which has no

limitations, embracing fullness, abundance, and generosity without bounds.

In such a God, the circle is completed and opposites are joined. Starting with locality we end with totality. A particular place and the world as a whole in true relations constitute civilization. Not local culture, however excellent, apart from world meaning nor a world order apart from a fully realized local existence.

III

The problem for every young man entering citizenship and for his teachers who bring him to that point, is how he may perform the maximum duties for social purposes and at the same time create the free man. The citizen is not born; he is made. By rising out of the necessity imposed by instinct and destiny a man becomes his own master, and only then is worthy of the name of citizen. The choice, which is the proof of coming of age, is that which is made between the instinctive life and the conscious life, between letting responsibility be taken by others and taking responsibility oneself.

Our democracy is based on the responsibility of citizens, and it cannot be maintained unless that responsibility is widely shared: there must be a sufficient number of men who bear the responsibilities of citizenship and play their part in the common life. At the present time there is a tendency to belittle democratic citizenship. It is not so much that there is a diminished interest in politics as that there seems small scope for individual influence upon affairs. Existing political institutions and methods are tolerated, but there are felt to be no programmes that are adequate to the abilities of individuals or to the realization of the potentialities of human society. The employment of the full capacities of men are not called for, and there is a deep consciousness of frustration. Thus there is a staleness in our society which is very difficult to overcome, for the true functions of citizenship cannot be performed.

I suggest that the remedy for this is to take up the duties of citizenship in one's locality. Local government is the basis of democratic institutions, and while the duties and responsibilities of local government authorities are to-day extending at a rapid rate (always, however, with an increasing degree of central supervision) the personnel of local government is not being maintained. There is an effort to raise the standard of local government employees nearer to the level of the civil service than it is at present, which is meeting with some success; but the non-professional element in local government consisting of the elected or nominated members of councils, committees, and boards, drawn from the inhabitants of the localities, is inferior in quality, as the best men, with exceptions, will not undertake the work. Here is the opportunity for young men.

It is not, however, merely on local government bodies but in the activities of every kind of local social organization that the duties of citizenship are discharged, and not least in the recognition of the relationship between work and locality. How few industrialists, for instance, take an interest in the place in which their factory is!

In Parliament, citizenship has its most spectacular stage; but relations between Parliament and the citizen are as remote, under our present system, as relations between the ordinary Member of Parliament and the Cabinet, which controls the Government.

When the remoteness of Parliament in relation to both citizen and Government is considered we get the conviction that a reconstruction of political institutions is called for, though the matter receives very small attention. Yet there are few people who would deny that more decisive change in our democratic political institutions is required than is yet contemplated, if the challenge of the totalitarian states, which represent the mass movements, is to be rightly answered. How highly contemptuous are the criticisms of Hitler and Mussolini, and their followers, of all the democracies! They see France struggling under a constitution in which politics is constantly made

ridiculous and in which citizenship is at a low ebb ; they see England balancing itself, as on a tight rope, upon an out-of-date political system that works only through the good sense of its people ; they see America contradicting its own fundamental principles in the maintenance of an eighteenth century federal system that makes the solution of twentieth century problems impossible. In all three countries there is lack of control, weakening of discipline and absence of design ; there is no real attempt to maintain physical fitness ; mental fitness (except in France) is almost despised, and to discover the goal of national existence would be a hard matter. The time has come when the democracies must recreate themselves or they will lose the respect of their enemies. What is needed is that the results of living tradition should be observed, that the lessons of science should be learned and that the needs of the future should be reckoned with.

Young men looking for what Geddes called a 'factual basis' for change in these institutions will find it in the study of the human organism. In the human form there lie the principles to be observed in the structure of human society, for society is but individual man writ large. In society we find three main activities, which are cultural, political and economic ; and in the human body we find head, heart, and metabolic system which correspond to those social activities.

Thus, to organize the community, the nation, and the world on the same structure as the individual man, means cultural, political and economic organs, designed for their particular purposes and working together as a whole. This is to recognize the principle of function, which is the characteristic principle of the twentieth century.

What does this mean in a practical sense ? I will attempt to answer the question because I want to suggest that political inventiveness is required to-day. I started by referring to the need for change, and I indicate what sort of change I have in mind. Let us consider that Parliament as we know it should be composed of three parts, a Cultural Chamber, a Political Chamber, and an

Economic Chamber. There have often, since the War, been proposals for an Economic Council, or some definite organ of the State, to deal with economic questions ; for the gravity and complexity of these questions is increasing as well as the need for State action in connection with them, and Parliament is at present too heavily occupied to do its work efficiently : there have been proposals for Committees of members to deal with certain details of Parliamentary business, but none of these proposals have been workable. The only solution seems to be a change in the actual constitution of Parliament on a functional basis.

It is impossible in the available space to present this proposal fully, but I must outline it a little further. The object is not to weaken Parliament or to make it more complicated, but to simplify it, and to make citizenship more real. Just as the human organism works smoothly by reason of the fact that function is respected—the head not being interfered with by the stomach (culture by economics) nor the stomach being interfered with by the heart attempting to do its work (economics by politics), the organs of the entire body working together in co-operation—so the different functions of the social body should work efficiently in their own sphere and co-operatively in the organism as a whole. Every citizen, as a cell of the social body, would in his different functions have relations with each separate functional organ of the social order ; and, because there would be clearly defined activities, freedom would have a quality that it does not possess at present, for freedom in the individual would be the health of the social body.

Now, as to the various chambers. The Cultural Chamber should be concerned with religion, education, health, science, and art, and all those activities that have to do with the body, mind, and soul. It should be composed of representatives of those who are occupied in these various spheres, together with representatives of the ordinary citizen. This Chamber would be responsible for the administration of the entire educational, health, and cultural activities of the country. What a difference it

would make if national culture, which is the culture of individuals, were lifted out of the turmoil of politics, so that doctors, teachers, scientists, and artists worked together in the great task of increasing the health, mental and physical effectiveness, and quality of life of all citizens !

The Economic Chamber should be concerned with the production and distribution of wealth ; the entire economic life of the nation would come under its control. It should be composed of representatives of all who work, together with representatives of the ordinary citizen. The citizen as worker, made responsible for his work, would thus have a new status in society. The object would be not to establish a single pattern of economic organization but to put public utility corporations in their proper setting and to find the right place for individual enterprise.

The Political Chamber should be concerned with legislation, law, justice, defence, money, foreign affairs, and every activity of a purely political kind. It should be elected direct on a popular franchise as at present, or, as I think, it should be composed of representatives of regional bodies.

Local Government should be concerned with administration as at present except for certain economic activities, which would be economically administered, and should be reorganized on a regional basis.

This is all very well, perhaps some reader will say ; but suppose the social organism does not work ? Suppose for instance there should be a dispute between the Chambers, how will it be settled ? Will the Political Chamber be supreme, as Parliament is now ? I think the Chambers must be autonomous in their own spheres, subject to law. The answer is to be found here : the Government of the country will be composed of the Ministers from each Chamber under the Prime Minister, who is the head of the Political Chamber ; but there will have to be another body, which should act in the same way as the controlling self does in the human organism. This body might be called the Senate—it exists to-day as the House of Lords

—to be composed of men of highest worth in the country, together with the leading members of the three Chambers; it would be the guardian of the national spirit, the true aristocracy of the nation. The Senate would be the coordinating element in national structure, as the 'self' is in the individual; it would be responsible for unity, and for the health of the organs that make the people one.

A nation falls into ill-health from time to time, and will always be in danger of some sickness; this ill-health in a national body is similar to ill-health in an individual body, and is to be cured in the same way—by the body's natural recuperative powers aided by the guidance of the controlling self. Finally, at the head of the Senate is the Crown, the representative and symbol of national unity.

I have not pretended to do more than to present a fragmentary sketch of what seems to me a possible new form of 'State.' It is not a complete scheme of government. I am convinced that there are possibilities within our democratic framework of new institutions that are true to our national traditions, philosophical in conception, scientific in character, entirely modern in feeling, and with the highest potentialities of efficiency, which are superior to those that have been set up in countries such as Russia, Italy, and Germany, where freedom is sacrificed and the State is an all-powerful despotism. The separation of functions prevents despotism, because it makes centralization impossible.

These suggestions can be assailed from many points of view, I know. In particular the adherents of national sovereignty will see in them a departure from the principles upon which the sovereign state has been based. That is true, and should it not be a merit?—for to have the possibility of a working constitution in a modern national state without the element which is dangerous to freedom within and the fatal obstacle to effective co-operation without is surely a merit. I am not concerned, however, to answer critics; it would be necessary first to set out the proposal in more detail. It is sufficient to indicate lines of thought that might usefully be followed

by those who are seeking for concrete application of ideas of human unity and are looking for new inspiration for national forms of government. There is nothing original in the suggestions ; for they are near to the *Republic*, and many political philosophers, ancient and modern, have made proposals like them ; what has not hitherto been done is to indicate how proposals that seem merely idealistic or academic have practical application to the immediate needs of our changing world.

IV

By recognizing the need for separating the functions we discover a structure suitable for national and international order ; for such a separation is not merely the secret of a new national life but of a new world order. The recognition of functions gives meaning to the relatedness of human beings—we are all functions of one another, and nations are functions of the world order. In this lie the seeds of a reconstruction of the British Commonwealth, of the possibilities of a federation of the Western World, and ultimately of a World Commonwealth in which all continents have their place.

The citizen of to-morrow has other duties than to maintain the institutions and forms of a civilization that is rapidly passing away. He has to know himself as a world citizen, member of the human family, and, at the same time, he has to respect his attachment to the particular spot where he lives, inheriting the fruits of history and the traditions of his country. With such knowledge he can enthusiastically throw himself into undertaking the tasks of life, and take his place as a citizen. A citizen is a grown-up man. Peter Pan never becomes a citizen ; he remains an undeveloped boy for whom life continues to be a game of make-believe. The test of manhood is to put away childish things and to take responsibility.

The young citizen of this country can remember this : The destiny of England since the eighteenth century has been that of a nation with world-responsibilities, which have made a world-view essential. Humanitarianism in

its most intense and at the same time its widest aspect has been characteristic of the English; in contact with all peoples and having interests and responsibilities everywhere, they have developed a sense of humanity which is unique. This does not mean that Englishmen have not been tyrannous or exploiters of native peoples, but it does mean that their bias has been towards the recognition of the rights of others, which is seen to-day in the actual structure of the British Commonwealth. This world-view and sense of common humanity inspires British opinion and amounts to a profession of faith, which places England in the position of world leadership. This is felt by all Englishmen of every class, and has nothing to do with superior wealth or superior power but has everything to do with the conception of duty. It is the most valuable characteristic of the English, and one which, for the sake of the world, it is to be hoped they will ever retain. It has nothing in common with German world aims because it is essentially non-imperialistic and anti-nationalistic. England as an Imperial Power (which she is) is politically non-imperialistic in her policy, which cannot, in fact, be said of any other power; it is the precise antithesis of German policy in both the Bismarckian and National-Socialist sense.

Yet the British Commonwealth, remarkable achievement as it is, remains an improvisation without effective organs, and without the means of full development in the highly organized world of to-day. It holds together because of its fine tradition of freedom; but the integration of the Commonwealth with its political, economic, and cultural institutions, functioning for the benefit of the whole, remains to be accomplished. It cannot be long delayed. It is the greatest task of statesmanship in the present age and calls for immediate attention; but it waits upon the reconstruction of Great Britain herself on a model that will serve for Imperial use; such a model, for instance, as I have sketched above.

The new civilization must be based on the conviction that life has meaning and that human history has an aim

to be realized consciously in the perfecting of individual personality in association with others. Association, reconciliation, sharing the abundance—these are the key words of the new politics. When a boy goes out into the world he is equipped with an armoury of defences provided by home and school against his fellow beings. Though these personal armaments are often antiquated—as is usual with armaments when they are brought into use—they can do plenty of damage: at least, to the one who carries them. Defences are necessary; but they are the opposite of what a boy usually is equipped with: where he has suspicion he should have prudence, where enmity, goodwill, where the sense that he must grab what he can for himself, the conviction that there is enough for all, and where he has a fixed mental attitude he should have an inquiring mind. The idea of fighting others to make a place for ourselves, generated in the nursery, nurtured in the home, firmly established in the school, is one of the primary causes of war, which no amount of later acquired pacifist philosophy will remove.

Certainly a change of mind is required for good citizenship, and a change of heart too. The Western World is in a cul-de-sac and only a turn-about can solve its problems. At one time religion gave unity and a common purpose; but the rule of the Church was broken at the Renaissance when religion and science divided, and at the Reformation when men took responsibility into their own hands. Private judgment, private property, and national sovereignty are the cul-de-sac into which the West has become locked. Violence seems to many people the only way of release from it; but there is another way—that of intelligence, when with sharpened and developed individualities, with science as their tool, men enter a new spiritual age. A conviction of the inner unity of mankind will enable men to establish outer forms, which will be the new civilization and a new world order, realizing William Blake's words, 'Religion is politics and politics is brotherhood.'

This is a great time in which to live, for now is a turning point in human history. The future of mankind depends

upon what action we take during the next few years. We have to choose between Marxism—which is materialism, mass, inevitability—in its various forms and Christianity—which is mind, the principle of personality. There is truth in Marx, though his twofold dialectic is false; but that truth is already in Christianity, mediating between matter and spirit, the Word made flesh, the effectiveness of spirit in matter. The young man, to-day, has opportunities for heroism, for courage, and for truth-speaking which exceed the greatest moments in past history. The new age waits until men will play their part in it with readiness to learn, welcoming change, taking risks, becoming self-disciplined, so that human civilization, which is a new way of living—the good life for all—may dawn. Having that sense of the meaning of our lives with what excitement should we rise every morning to face the coming day!

GOOD MANNERS

By E. GRAHAM HOWE

WE CANNOT LIVE alone if life is to be fulfilled, because we are members of a community. Nor is it right that we should withdraw from all those others who differ from us, into a smaller group, the members of which have been chosen because of their similarity to ourselves. The privilege of such a partial peace requires too much effort merely to keep out the ones we have excluded. Life is a consequence of relationship, and requires that many different types should come together, in order to give roundness to the whole. Those others must supply the 'other side,' in order that our community may not become 'one-sided.' Although at times we feel that life would be simpler if we could do without them, yet we are dependent upon those 'others,' whoever they may be, for they can make us 'whole.'

If we can start with this first assumption, that the aim of Education is to make us whole, then we are faced with a simple problem in good manners. The aim of Education is to make us whole within ourselves, and whole in our relationships within and amongst the members of our community. To this end, nothing is to be discarded, but all is to find its rightful place. No one is to be left out, because the wholeness of our aim permits no scapegoats. With nothing in excess, nothing is to be omitted: with no one in a position of wrongful privilege, all require the benefit of 'good manners.' Ideally, there is no limit to the operation of this principle, if the community at which we are aiming is to be all-inclusive, and if wholeness is our goal.

The trouble with much of our Education, however, is that it is too partial in its purpose, and too exclusive in its methods. It aims at 'good' or 'clever' children, instead of all-round ones. Its goal is to pass examinations,

instead of to create balanced and original minds. It is more concerned, therefore, with fixing 'good' according to some partial purpose, than with leaving free to grow or with living true to oneself. The conditions in which children pass their formative years are artificial and isolated, and schools are monastic in the rigidity of their seclusion from the real problems of life in a community. The results achieved are therefore lacking in good manners, in creative originality and in real adaptability, because too much has been left out. The purpose of this chapter is to consider more closely the problems of good manners and how they affect the whole question of Education.

Good manners are the means by which we can learn to live together as citizens of our community, unifying our diversity by means of the service which we render to the whole. Good manners forge the living links through which we can learn to trust each other, and so agree to differ. They are more than oil upon the wheels to lessen friction: they are also the spirit (the fuel and the fire) that provides the motive power. They are essential, not only for 'good' living, but also for its efficiency and its abundance.

If the wholeness of our community is to be our aim, then all are to be included. Inclusiveness must not stop at any limited civic responsibility or merely insular patriotism. Its boundary will include the brotherhood of all mankind. There will therefore be no limits to our responsibility, and we must learn to enlarge the scope of our ideas accordingly. We are each responsible, not only for ourselves, but, in the end, also for all the others. We are responsible for the undeveloped aspects of ourselves, for all our unregenerate impulses, even for our dreams. In regard to others, our sympathy must learn to include not only the suffering of the bombed, but also the destructive actions and impulses of the bomber of whom we sadly disapprove. He needs our sympathy also, and perhaps more, in spite of all our disapproval of his way of life. Our principle is inclusiveness, and there are to be

no scapegoats. In ourselves, as well as in others far afield, the bomber that we so dislike is to be seen, recognized, admitted, included—and perhaps in the end, in time, absorbed for the final victory of Peace.

So far, so good, ideally and in principle. But how about practice? Coming down to earth from the airy platitudes of universal love, what does it mean for us now, and what difference does it make in our lives and in our teaching? The first thing to recognize is that, individually and collectively, our manners are *not* good. We are too much afraid for that, and furthermore we teach the virtues of an egotistic avarice, both in body and mind. The 'Old School Tie' is possessed of a strangle-hold of partial preference and egotistic exclusiveness. It is based upon ideas of self-righteousness that claim not only that 'I am better than you are,' but also that 'You ought to be just like me or else you are all wrong, and there is no place for you amongst the elect.' But there are no elect: or if there are, these are not they. They may have been elected by themselves or others, but they are not *the* elect.

There is no room for such Dictators of the Absolute in our community. There is no room, in fact, for anyone who is so sure of just what is right and best. The reality of our experience is to be our only law, and that is surely Relative, not Absolute. If something is so, then that is FACT: and if someone is so, then, right or wrong, he is TRUE. It is enough for us to say of whatever *is*, that it is to be included or accepted, at least for Now. Who are we, to stand as Absolute Dictators of our own superior Will, and to say of anyone 'I don't like him: chuck him out!' There is a frankness about those who chase the scapegoat openly, that is usually lacking in the moral superiority of the self-satisfied, who are content with verbal chastisement. But whether we merely imply 'You ought to be like me!' or say bluntly 'Get out!' the attitude in either case is certainly exclusive. Moral interference or physical persuasion are both examples of bad manners.

When we say there is 'no room' for such ill-mannered dictators in the community we are invisaging, we have

perhaps fallen inadvertently into their own error of thought and speech. It would be truer to say that there is no function they can usefully perform, no permanent help they can give in such a community, which is not far out-weighed by their intolerant destructiveness. But in one sense we *have* to make room for them, because they also ARE. Therefore they, too, must be accepted now, not chucked out because of our dislike and disapproval. Only so can they be changed, or change themselves, in time.

It was said above that in the all-inclusive community, responsibility was to be regarded as unlimited. But why is it that as soon as responsibility is acknowledged for anyone or anything, an attitude of mental aggressiveness immediately enters into the relationship? If anything goes wrong, and we feel that we are responsible, we seem to feel also that we needs must interfere. Then good manners go to pieces, and war is declared. The idea of responsibility seems fatal to our peace of mind. It produces ill manners and all war, in the good cause of proudly moralized opinion.

But why should our sense of responsibility lead us so precipitately to intemperate interference and injustice? The answer to this very important question leads us to a consideration of the function of consciousness. The trouble is with consciousness, not with responsibility. The same applies to the absolute sense of responsibility of Dictators. They are too conscious of their consciences—too conscientious, in fact,—and they are the victims of another inward Dictatorship within their minds, the nature of which they cannot control. They are the victims of a partial purpose, which can only succeed at the expense of some scapegoat which must be more or less furiously exterminated.

Consciousness is altogether too partial to win either wholeness or perfection by itself. It is only half the story of our lives. It is only a part or aspect of our wholeness and its function is to define our experience within manageable parts. The development of consciousness enables us to recognize smaller differences: to contrast and to

compare the lesser detail of our experience in its finer aspects. It is like a sharp knife that separates and isolates for our convenience: 'This is not That.' But then it also evaluates according to our heart's desire 'This is better than That.' Then conscience adds 'Therefore of course That ought to be like This.' So speak all Dictators: and we are the victims, not only of their ill manners, but also of our own.

In fact, Life is both *This and That*: *Self and Other*: known *and* unknown: consciousness *and* unconsciousness. But there seems to be an overpowering tendency for consciousness to regard itself as All, and all else as simply None, or as the convenient scapegoat for virtuous suppression. It is as if everything that is conscious of itself must regard itself as being compulsorily superior. As I feel that I am more important to myself than you are to me, so consciousness assumes unholy rights and sets up a moral dictatorship to the exclusion of its rivals. Alas for Education if it sets this trap and then steps into it. Consciousness, like patriotism or any partial purpose, is not enough.

But what are the other functions of the mind? We may state one opposing system much discussed by modern psychologists. This is the Unconscious, the balanced other half which completes the whole of Self. If that is set at nought by an all-too-rational dictatorship of consciousness we are pursued by all the powers of the unseen, and spend our lives in unconsciously compelled efforts at escape. If we fail in this endeavour, we become victims of unbalanced mind, and fall sick of some mental disorder. Education has concerned itself almost exclusively with consciousness, and may therefore justly be held as to some extent 'responsible' for the innumerable evidences of mental unbalance with which we are to-day beset. Looking around the world to-day we well may ask 'Is this where Education leads?'

But without going too far into the many dubious attempts at psychological classification, we may particularize a little further. The functions of the psyche

are four : intuition, thought, feeling and sensation. Each one neglected sets up a clamour that indicates that something is wrong. When it has been ignored, the place of intuition is taken by spiritual misadventures in charlatanry, alcohol and gambling. Where the accurate use of disciplined thought has failed, we are assailed with compulsive phantasies and phobias. Where feeling has not developed to levels of maturity, we are faced with sentimentality. And the valuable service of sensation, if neglected, becomes perverted into the twisted channels of sensationalism. All these errors are evident to-day without going further for our proof than the pages of the Press, which are a fair index of our minds and moods.

It looks as if some parts of our psychic functions have suffered ill-treatment at the overpowering hands of others. One has been set up as Absolute, Dictator, Lord of All. This one is Consciousness, Reason, Knowledge, call it what you will. It is a part of mind, but its exploitation over all the rest is certainly not to be regarded as the aim of a wise Education, whether that is concerned with the welfare either of the Self or the Community.

Now we can perhaps realize better the importance of our central claim for the principle of Inclusiveness. Let all these parts and aspects of the Self have their fair share of attention and development, and there is some chance that Education will play a wiser part in the growth of the whole and balanced Self. Conscious and unconscious, waking and dream, effort and rest, male and female, intuition and feeling, thought and sensation, child and man, past and future ; with good manners to them all, and none excluded, the living Self can grow according to its nature. This is the responsibility of Education, if it is exercised with good manners, in due time, and towards the end of wholeness.

There is, however, one function in the psyche which is especially concerned with the experience of wholeness. This is what we call Intuition (Definition : 'The immediate apprehension of an object by the mind without the intervention of any reasoning process.' O.E.D.). It is an

all-round, undifferentiated, wholesome process, that need not stop to think. It is not infallible, because it is very easily falsified by prejudice or desire. It is the especial gift of all children and women, as well as of all those who are artists (with or without the ability to master a technique for its expression) and of all 'psychics' (with or without what are called supernormal powers, such as mediumship or clairvoyance). It is a condition of responsive awareness that is extremely sensitive without being explicit, by means of which we sense the 'otherness' of life. It is extensive, opening, whole: and it is therefore a means to holiness. It is exactly opposite to consciousness, which succeeds, in its partiality to certain aspects of experience, by means of what it can leave out. Consciousness is interested in 'This', separated as if by a knife from 'otherness', and it is brightly lit as a focussed point for our attention. By both consciousness and intuition we may 'know', but very differently. The former is 'mediate' experience, which can explain and prove. The latter is 'immediate,' but it is not any the worse for that, in spite of the fact that it cannot justify itself to its traducers.

That intuition has its traducers in the field of Education the school reports show all too often. 'Requires more effort. Must learn not to gaze about him. Cannot concentrate. Could do better if he tried.' These latent intuitives are not only a problem to themselves. They are also, unfortunately for themselves, too often the object of sarcastic comment from their teachers, and of the consequent rude reminders of father's disappointment at the breakfast table. They are scapegoats, pursued relentlessly by the ill manners of that aggressive autocrat that men call 'reason.'

Meanwhile, the intuitive has special problems of his own. He is too concerned with all to be concerned with any single one. His interests are too universal to be competitive. His own manners are too good (although he will be called 'soft' by the toughs) for him to find life easy in the rough-and-tumble adolescent savagery of a school environment. He is particularly a victim of the

time-table, because of the way it pulls his life to pieces, constantly expecting him to be somewhere else. He feels driven, and may soon be driven to take up the cudgels with the offensive others against his better self. He may then choose, in self-defence, to identify himself with the driver, becoming in his turn a bully: or he may become conventionally lost in complete conformity with his alleged authority. If the battle seems to be going altogether against him, he may withdraw himself from the inequality of competitiveness into the vaguer world of dreams and phantasies. He may even 'get religion' in an attempt to have the best of both worlds. In this he will be warmly encouraged by all those who do not understand him, who unfortunately are likely to be those who are 'responsible' for his welfare.

Some of us are more, some less, intuitive. Some retain more of the power as we grow older, though that is usually easier if we are spared the intenser process of 'higher education.' But all are different, because individuality is unique. It is far more unique and unrepeatable than a hand of cards, and is deserving of the infinite respect of those who are 'responsible' for its nurture and development. Some are more sensitive than others, and these would be the best, if they were treated to the benefit of the doubt, in accordance with the charity that is good manners.

Consciousness is concerned with measurement, and it is therefore liable to be rude when it comes upon something which is less than it might be. This is especially the problem of all teachers faced with the immaturity of childhood and youth, which so obviously *ought* to grow. As it is, the child is always wrong, judged from the standpoint of maturity. A teacher devoid of intuition cannot understand the mystery of growth, and therefore, in his state of great responsibility, he feels that he must anxiously turn the wheels of time himself. Yet children learn and grow, as trees and flowers do, in time. They only need an understanding gardener, with insight into Life.

But gardeners prune and weed, to make their gardens beautiful. That is true enough and sets a problem, 'Why?'

and When? Children need pruning sometimes, too : and weeds are a problem in the life of all communities. Can this be done without sacrifice of what we call good manners ?'

If pruning is for better growth in time, it does not offend our principle. Life profits by enduring some frustration, and children do not grow best if they are allowed to grow just anyhow. They need enough cutting back to make them grow more strongly. That is the point that proves the gardener's knowledge of the Art of Life. His pruning may seem hard, but it is wiser to endure it *if it is wisely done*. The best pruning does not offend good manners : it cuts out dead wood and helps wholesome growth. Educational methods would themselves be the better for this efficient service from the pruner's knife.

Weeding is more difficult to bring within our scope. Should evil be uprooted? Here is a chance for evil manners to supplant our wiser principle, because to be eradicated is our fashionable doom when we offend dictators. They are great believers in uprooting all that they dislike, and call it liquidating their problems. Good manners are usually not part of their technique.

But as far as we are concerned, in home and school, how often are we justified in regarding our living problem as being only weeds? Children are not weeds to be uprooted, although sometimes they may be 'weedy.' Then they may require pruning yes : or manuring, yes : or simply resting off in a dark place somewhere, for a time. But uprooting is not good for children, unless they are wisely and carefully transplanted. They are not weeds, however crooked they may have grown. Only the worst of ill-manners would so reproach them and it could not be blest with understanding if it so regarded them.

As for the individual so for the impulse, which is as much a member of the self's community, as the self is of the sphere in which he lives. Should evil impulse be uprooted when discovered? A good gardener, wise in his politeness, would at least inquire 'What plant is this? Whence has it come, and why?' Enlightenment is the

essential quality of all good manners. 'Well, let's see.' The gardener in the nursery of educational experience has much to see and understand, and is best advised to avoid pulling up anything unless he is *quite sure it is a weed*. But if he is quite sure? Why, then, *perhaps*. But even then he may distrust his skill at uprooting, and wisely leave it for a while. The diagnosis is always difficult, and may be still further obscured if he himself is 'weedy.' Until we are quite sure, let's give it a chance, which means room to live and space to breathe, without interference.

And that after all is the purpose of all weeding : it is the practice of good manners that prevents interference, and permits freedom to grow according to need and nature.

Is it too much then, to quote the gardener as a wise example for educators to follow in regard to good manners? Gardeners know their seasons : they do not love summer better than winter, or action better than rest, or fruit better than roots, or the scent of flowers better than that of manure *if it is in the right place*. Like all artists, their concern is to get things in their right place at the right time. And this is the concern also of good manners.

But before we leave the gardener, there is one other point. He lives amidst sun and wind, water and earth : his children are the children of the elements. Our elements also are these same four : the fire burns in our intuition, the air is the freedom of our thoughts : the water is the flux of our emotion : and the earth is the wealth of our sensations. The gardener prefers none, but uses all, appropriately. Why should not we ?

As consciousness is material in its concerns, so intuition is essentially spiritual. It is concerned with wholeness, which is next to holiness. Consciousness is 'responsible' and its attitude to Life is necessarily somewhat aggressive and interfering ; but intuition is 'responsive,' and works with sympathy and understanding. Consciousness is liable to be ill-mannered because of its anxious apprehension of a partial purpose. But intuition is akin to love, because of the way it links the parts with 'and,' joining

them thus within the all-inclusive whole. Intuition is aware of the reality of the world of the spirit, and religion is its life. But consciousness, being more reasonable, has to make a separate subject of religion, so that it is called 'Divinity,' and given its place, an hour or so a week, amidst the other crowded but unrelated parts of the curriculum.

Composed of many parts, the psyche lives in many different worlds. 'In my Father's house are many mansions' tells us the truth about ourselves. We must define our parts, giving each its due, without confusion, yet never leaving any one in isolation. We must learn to 'Render unto Cæsar . . .' It is no use coercing diversity into unity: that is the fallacy of Dictators, moralists and pacifists alike, who believe that all can become one by the simple process of eliminating difference. That is not the way. It may seem morally despicable sometimes to 'agree to differ,' but that way has at least the praiseworthy quality of good manners.

There can be no life without diversity; no growth without fear: no development without the courage to accept suspense and disappointment: and no good manners without the quality of love that can endure. Endurance may sound a 'hard' word, but its meaning is not hard. It is too sensitive for that. Hardship, softly: weight, lightly: heat, coolly: disappointment, cheerfully: anxiety, patiently: danger, bravely: these are the opposites that embrace but do not interfere with one another, and they prove that endurance has a lot to do with good manners. Education is well worth while: but we cannot teach others what we do not know ourselves.

Perhaps encouragement is the sovereign proof of good manners. 'Go ahead, be yourself, be what you are': there can be no aggressive interference or nervous disparagement of others if we do but advise them to go on and be themselves, only more so. A slightly different method of encouragement is to say 'Let's see.' This is enlightenment, and often adds something of mysterious change to what was there before. At least if we can do

no better, we can perhaps suffer our disappointment sensitively and more or less gladly, and say 'I don't mind *mind*ing your being different from what I hoped.' That is a stage better than the inertia of 'I don't mind your being different,' but there is no virtue whatever in the vacant escape of 'I don't care.'

'Live and let live.' This is the secret of good manners, for Life itself is still a secret. If we don't know the answer to all our questions, how can we afford to be dogmatic? Life is a mysterious process, an adventure into and amidst the unknown. There is therefore much wisdom in the religious teaching of 'Love your enemies,' if it saves us from the error of self-righteousness. Out of some such contact between opposites, who by means of it can continue to stay in touch with one another, there springs the 'middle way' of Life itself. We are to learn the lesson that all Dictators are taught in time, namely, that Life knows best. This seems to be the only solution to the problem of life in a community, and it requires the habitual practice of—Good Manners.

MATURITY

By T. F. COADE

THIS CHAPTER IS an attempt to set in a certain perspective the views and conclusions of those who have written the preceding chapters. The aim of the writer is, ambitiously perhaps, to persuade the reader to contemplate this collection of essays not only in its mundane context but *sub specie aeternitatis*.

To those who have little use for religion, or to those whose religious beliefs or philosophy of life are too strongly defined to admit of further serious modification, one cannot do more than suggest that they select and absorb whatever seems useful and relevant in the preceding chapters. To those who have no such clearly determined attitude, these pages are offered for what they are worth. They are merely the conclusions of one who makes no pretence to be an expert in religion or philosophy, still less in psychology; of one whose sole claim to write here at all is that he was entrusted with the compilation of the book, and would therefore wish to explain the standpoint from which he invited the other contributors to subscribe.

Some parts of this chapter might perhaps have been included in an Introduction. The knowledge, however, that introductions are seldom read, and the fact that the value of this chapter, if any, depends on its being read after and not before a scrutiny of the foregoing contributions, persuade the writer to insert his views in the body of the book instead of at the beginning. Some of the contributors, should they read this chapter, may possibly resent having been asked to write in the same volume; all will, I feel sure, be charitable, and the majority will, I think, be prepared to allow most of it to stand, even if they cannot identify themselves with its conclusions.

I

The totalitarian has one great advantage: he knows, or feels he knows, exactly what he is living or fighting

for. If he is in any doubt the Minister of Education or the Minister of Propaganda is ready to settle or remove that doubt; if necessary the Minister of Police is ready to remove the doubter. But this is no way to behave in a self-respecting community. Man is degraded, and in his inmost soul he must know himself to be degraded, by allowing his doubts and problems to be taken off his shoulders and summarily disposed of in this childish manner. The business of a democratic state is to see that through education man is properly equipped, and enabled to grapple with and settle his doubts to his own individual satisfaction.

Now the only way of settling doubts is by creating faith—and not by giving reasons; and that is what democracy must do by some means or other if it is to survive, let alone thrive. Just as the main strength of totalitarian states lies in their Faith, so the main weakness of democracy lies in the lack of it. The strength of Germany lies in the unshakable faith which Hitler has in his ideal; and this is reflected in the faith the vast mass of German youth has in Hitler. And personally I believe that faith to be impregnable and invincible unless it is met by a faith equally strong, but related to wider and deeper loyalties. Can we awaken such a faith? Do we wish to do so? If so, in what?

Another reason for the success of national socialism is that Hitler has grasped the truth stated in the Epistle of James: 'Faith without works is dead.' He has therefore provided countless opportunities for public service, e.g. work camps and all the numerous activities of the Hitler youth, where the ecstasy and devotion generated by this faith can be related to practical and constructive public work. If we want to rescue ailing democracy in this country—if indeed it can be rescued—the first thing we need to do is to take a leaf out of Hitler's book, and provide, along our own characteristic national lines, similar opportunities for public service among the rising generation, and at the same time create a faith that is clear and strong enough to provide the necessary dynamic.

If that be true we might well consider first what faith is strong enough to inspire the youth of this country to similar devotion and service; and second by what means such a faith can be fostered, and to what end related.

The diseases that are sapping our energy are due mainly to defective leadership, namely aimlessness and lack of vision, which are inevitably accompanied by anxiety, fear, and the desire to escape responsibility and facing facts. Democracy as an ideal, and as understood to-day, has ceased to inspire youth; Nationalism is patently inadequate because it has become suicidal; Communism (political) is inadequate because it leaves out of account man's spiritual appetite which can never be more than fobbed off with an earthly paradise. I do not believe any system of government can solve the world's problem, except one whose leaders and administrators recognize the fundamental fact that man is by nature dependent on God, and must learn to live by God's laws.

The fullest revelation of God's nature and the laws of the spiritual world have been given us by Jesus; and, because the fullest, the most relevant to the present crisis. And there are many who see no hope for the continuance of the civilization we know, or the birth of a better, unless we accept at this eleventh hour not only the ethics but also the way of life of Jesus, as a basis for social and international relationships.

But Christianity is a religion which can be lived fully only by fully grown men and women. I do not believe that we can do more for children and adolescents than educate them *towards* Christianity. Most of the failures of religious education are due to not recognizing this fact. I am not thinking at the moment in terms of the institutional churches and chapels at all, useful and even necessary as these may be to a large number of people. I am thinking in terms of the Christian way of life and the immediate effect it has upon those who follow it in their relations with other people, other creeds other races, and of the effect it has upon their way of approaching

difficult problems in a spirit of friendliness and conciliation. This spirit with its twofold manifestation may for clearness and convenience with regard to what follows be called *responsiveness*.

The man whose senses and whose intuition are quick to detect and recognize life's challenges, e.g. the challenges of beauty and ugliness, the challenges of love and hatred, is the responsive man. When the challenge is one of beauty in art or nature his response will take the form of creation or simple wonder. When the challenge is one of human need, distress, injustice, his response will be to give himself in service to remedying or alleviating the situation, or when the challenge is to plan or organize in order to prevent such need, injustice, or wrong arising, he responds in preventive action accordingly; in any case he responds by showing active goodwill. And it is this positive response to the call for preventive or remedial work in our communal social life—beginning at school—which proves whether we are or are not *responsible*.

But if our education has been successful, this attitude of responsibility will be based on something more than habit or a moral sense or a sense of duty, good as these motives may sometimes be; it will be first and foremost a spontaneous emotional reaction controlled by the will and organized by the intelligence. This seems to me to define in a clumsy but adequate way what Christian love is—a steady emotional energy directed by the will towards fellowship, i.e. towards establishing a friendly and constructive relationship between ourselves and other people, a quiet, illuminating, warming, fertilizing radiance which transforms controversy into co-operation, selfishness into a truism, and sectional antagonism into fellowship.

Citizens of this kind cannot, however, be produced to order, or at a moment's notice. Such qualities are the fruit of long years of education from the cradle onwards. And it is necessary to consider the environment which must be provided if our children are to grow up towards this kind of responsible, because responsive, citizenship.

II

Other chapters of this book have surveyed psychologically or scientifically the stages in human development which lead to responsibility. I must content myself with a brief, purely contemplative, 'looking at' the successive stages of childhood, adolescence, and adulthood, and try to bring out one or two fundamental conditions for the development of responsibility.

It is a wholesome thing first of all to consider our very humble origin, which one might describe as the stooping of the spirit to enter the mortal habitation of our body in a tiny fertilized cell. Laying aside all power and pride at the time of incarnation, the spirit enters into human form. Not only did this take place at the incarnation of Jesus, when according to Christian belief God's spirit was embodied in human form and grew to human perfection, but it also takes place in the conception of every single human being. Conception is symbolic of power voluntarily submitting itself to the limitation of law; and it is the gradual recognition of this truth through the various phases of our development which alone enables us to become ultimately, if ever, mature persons, and so, possibly, fit to lead others. And it seems to me that an education which does not take this fact into consideration is very likely to proceed on mistaken lines. It is a truth in education as in art that our sense of power is enhanced by the conscious and willing acceptance of the limitations imposed upon it by its natural or human environment, and unless the child gradually grows into a conscious recognition of this fact, his foundations will continue to be insecure, and all our attempts to educate him to true responsibility will be frustrated.

From its birth a tiny baby is faced with the relation between the exercise of power and the necessity for discipline. Even in its most rudimentary form of consciousness it is aware of its own power, and shows this in no uncertain manner when it is thwarted of what it feels to be its rudimentary needs. It also registers very definite contentment with and acceptance of discipline

when the routine and order of the nursery are on a sound basis, *e.g.* when its times for feeding, sleeping, etc., are kept to a fixed schedule. With the development of childhood the range of the ordered routine is of course expanded in proportion as the child multiplies its desires and develops its power to get the things it wants and needs. Desires which are at first confined to a very few things like food or sleep, extend now to other attractions (*e.g.* toys), and in the well-ordered nursery or infant school there is developed in the child's outlook, together with its increased range of interests, an increased readiness to accept the limits or conditions imposed upon its attempts to get what it wants, those limitations and restrictions being laid down not only by Nature but by proper parental or pro-parental authority, without which there can be no security.

The three most essential elements in the parents' attitude that give this sense of security are love, faith, and authority. A wrong adult-child relationship, and notably a wrong parent-child relationship in early childhood (*i.e.* one from which any of these essentials are missing) sows and fosters the seeds of increasing trouble in school and in later years. The child's problem, and indeed the problem of mankind as a whole, is by degrees to establish a right, *i.e.* a satisfactory relationship with his environment; which environment includes himself, his fellow men, and God. A wrong relationship with his parents, guardians, or nurses during his first two or three years is dangerous if not fatal to a child's chances of ever establishing these three relationships and so reaching maturity. Children for whom responsible adults fail to provide the framework of order and reasonable authority in the home or in the nursery are the potential rebels and misfits at school and in later life too. One of the strongest unconscious demands of a child is that in routine and personal affairs things should happen 'as he expects them to happen.' So grows the child's faith in its environment and in the people who help to make it, which is the bedrock foundation for a sound and healthy adjustment

to the conditions and problems that arise in the later stages of growth. Here are the roots of responsibility.

It is of course the teacher's business to carry on the good work that has begun, or should have begun, in the home, or to try to make up for its absence if necessary. After the first few years are past the child seems naturally to begin to feel after a wider life, a wider sphere than the family, in which to exploit his powers and express himself. He needs more opportunities, more scope, more to do. But he also needs (and he knows if it is not forthcoming) a simple but clearly defined system or structure of reasonable discipline and rules; and these it is the business of the school to provide. True, he desires and needs increased freedom and scope, but this does not mean freedom from discipline; it means freedom for a fuller life, and instinctively a child knows that freedom for greater activity implies limitations as well as outlets. If this natural need is not answered, and if the limiting structure is absent or faulty, he enters adolescence insecure and so fearful or thwarted without knowing why.

If this adult-child relationship has been sound, then the child should be fit to pass on at the age of twelve or thirteen to the next stage, adolescence; the test of the soundness of the early years being whether the child has retained his happiness, confidence, and joyful expectancy, together with that creative imagination and sense of wonder (so often killed at schools) that find their natural outlet in the capacity to work or play with concentration, and to love unaffectedly.

The best example of the normal passage from childhood to adolescence is to be found in the experience of Jesus when he was taken up to the Temple at Jerusalem by his parents at the age of twelve. With other Jewish boys he went with his parents to the national festival of the Passover, when he became technically the son of the law, and exciting emotional experience when a boy was made to feel not only the historic significance of the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt but also the future greatness of the race when the Prince Messiah

should come ; that was perhaps as much as his parents expected the boy to feel. What Jesus actually experienced was a sudden direct realization of the immediate fatherhood of God, the God not only of his race, but also the God who dealt with the individual human soul ; dealing no longer only through his parents but directly with himself. He must have felt at the same time a call, a 'vocation' in the real sense of that word, not to a particular career but to the whole service or 'business' of God. It was this sudden realization that accounted for his remarkably independent behaviour which resulted in his parents losing him in Jerusalem. And the immediate result was significant : it did not turn him into an independent and precocious prodigy lecturing his elders ; it made him aware at once of the necessity for going home, and deliberately and consciously accepting the discipline of the ordinary routine of his home for the next eighteen years. His unusual intuitive power revealed to him the necessity of discipline voluntarily accepted as the soil from which alone subsequent spiritual freedom could grow.

Adolescence is a period in which we begin to learn wisdom ; and the saying, 'The desire for discipline is the beginning of wisdom' is itself a wise saying. During adolescence this desire which has been latent in childhood should become conscious. This is the normal thing to happen, though it often does not ; if we regarded what happened to Jesus as abnormal we should be missing the significance of his life and teaching. If only we could regard his life as the normal human life and our own as sub-normal, we should avoid a vast deal of misconception about human nature.

During adolescence a boy becomes increasingly aware of what one might call 'other than self,' and for the need for satisfactory relationship with this 'other than self.' The need becomes urgent to get on terms with and control his environment, and part of this process is that the boy is made more and more aware by his environment of the need for this world, with which he is striving

to come to terms, to be a world of order—one in which he can find his way, one where he 'knows where he is.' It is the restless uncertainty while he is finding his bearings that partly makes adolescence so turbulent and difficult a phase. It is a time of experiment; and it is tremendously important that during that time the boy shall have about him people he can trust, and people who can trust him; people on whom he can fall back in the intervals between his experiments and adventures, especially when these experiments go wrong. It is not so much advice that he needs in these times as the reassuring presence of balanced and friendly mature adults who understand without intruding.

Normal development during adolescence is lamentably often delayed if not wrecked by well-meant attempts on the part of adults to indoctrinate a boy prematurely with knowledge about religion and knowledge about sex (frequently, and most unfortunately, mixed together). More and more I am convinced that these two aspects of life cannot be profitably forced upon children; they must come at a time when the young appetite desires enlightenment. I would maintain that this desire would be naturally expressed when it arose if the preceding stages of education had been sound. In almost every sphere well-meaning grown-ups try to force knowledge and ideas into the young before the desire for that knowledge has been aroused. The awakening by the educator of desire for knowledge before attempting to satisfy it is one of the principles of modern education and should be applied to every branch of learning in schools. If religion and religious teaching came as an answer to youth's awakening desire for an ordered universe they would meet with a great deal more enthusiastic response than at present.

Before leaving this short survey of adolescence, one important feature or brief phase calls for attention, because failure to observe it is sometimes disastrous. When that period comes, which must be most carefully watched for, when a boy holds out, as it were, a kind of 'feeler' blindly searching for something to grip on to—

at that moment some necessary responsible job must be given him. If that is done this tentacle or arm will catch on and be strengthened, and the boy will be drawn thereby into the main stream of the social life of the school by means of conscious responsibility—a stream from which there is always a danger that he may drift away. If at this crucial period there is no job forthcoming, no helping hand held out, the tentacle or arm will fall away and there is every danger that the boy will drift into useless loutishness or become an intellectual rebel. If the right opportunity is offered, it often proves to be the first step towards adulthood.

Adulthood means the achievement of mastery, the consciousness of the conqueror. A boy leaving school at seventeen or eighteen should have begun to experience this state of consciousness. And as his sense of mastery grows so he approaches the status of the adult. This 'conqueror-consciousness' is then the climax of man's biological development; and the sense of mastery so achieved should show itself not only in complete control of his body and limbs, but in mastery of his own language (written or spoken), of the processes of thinking and reasoning; in mastery of his feelings; in his capacity for initiative, leadership, creative ability, concentration; in his capacity to follow out a line of thought in action, and to follow a leader or support a cause intelligently; in his power of discrimination and judgment; and finally in his power to *choose*. And by 'choosing,' more is meant than selection; the full significance of choosing is in being able to gather up will, thought, and feeling into a single positive concentrated act.

Can we get this clearer by an analogy? During childhood it is as though we learn how to play a number of musical instruments. When we reach the threshold of adolescence we begin to see ourselves for the first time not merely as players of a variety of instruments but rather as conductors whose function it is to establish mastery or control over the orchestra of our own powers, learning by practice and experiment to draw them out.

The adult is he who having mastered the technique of the conductor realizes that the music he must interpret, if he is to find his true freedom, is not, as one might suspect, his own composition but the compositions of a composer greater than himself, interpreting whose script, strangely enough, he finds greater freedom than were he conducting his own compositions. The adult realizes, in fact, that life must be lived in harmony with the plan or scheme or law of an invisible order; or in religious terms, men's lives must be lived, to be lived satisfactorily, in accordance with the will of God. Education then is seen quite clearly as being the process of learning by experience, conscious or unconscious, the laws that govern the physical, mental, and spiritual life of man.

What then is maturity? Maturity cannot come until we have grasped certain essential spiritual laws. And it is a mistake to regard adulthood and maturity as synonymous, just as it would be a mistake to imagine that when an apple is fully grown it must necessarily be ripe. A further period is needed before the full-grown fruit matures, during which a different process takes place from the process of growth. The apple, as it were, yields itself to a new influence other than itself but operative within itself. So human maturity brings with it the completion of the cycle; the restlessness of growth and expansion ceases and gives place to a different process, the process of ripening. There is a change in quality, a deepening and enriching.

What is this change? It is a change of attitude. The adult is one who has learnt that he must *accept* life, its limitations as well as its opportunities, if he is to attain mastery; but the logical result of his gradual attainment of mastery is to use it as he himself thinks fit, that is to direct the spiritual power with which he is in alliance into channels—good, bad, or indifferent—according to the dictates of his own will.

In Lord Dunsany's new play *Alexander* we are introduced to Alexander the Great at the height of his

greatness, which we observe to be the outcome of his having always, up to date, consulted an Old Man, who turns out to be the priest or personification in human form of the God Apollo. Alexander is persuaded to dispense with the Old Man's counsel and presence, and to show the world that he can conquer it without divine help, even in defiance of the divine will. He is all too easily persuaded that he himself is a god, the son of Zeus; and from that moment his deterioration and downfall begin. The play is a parable for which it would not be difficult to find many parallels in history.

The mature man is he who, having attained this consciousness of spiritual power, and thereby having attained mastery over his earthly environment, deliberately turns it over to the service of the master mind, or master spirit of the universe, accepting—not reluctantly or resentfully, but whole-heartedly, joyfully, and positively—all the inevitable consequences of such an action—pain, loss, persecution, even death—which such a handing over may involve; accepting all these things as incidental to such a way of life as is implicit in such a surrender.

Such an act of humility and acceptance is analogous, but in a far more significant way, to that stooping of the spirit to enter the human cell at physical conception, to which reference was made above. This second act of acceptance is indeed the second birth. It is the mature man's voluntary laying aside of spiritual power and pride, his acceptance of complete vulnerability in relation to his human and natural environment, reserving as inviolable only the direct relationship of his individual soul with God.

Herein is the significance of the temptations of Jesus. For unless he had been supremely conscious of his mastery of life, unless he had known himself to be fully capable of achieving world-wide spiritual domination, his crucial experience in the wilderness would not have been one of temptation. But just because he knew he was able to exercise that tremendous spiritual power which comes to those who have learnt to live in the Now

he deliberately chose to accept the laws and limitations of time and space, with all the labour and sorrow and apparent tragedy involved, and to live as a man among men, because of his great love for man. That is the supreme act of a mature man. In modern times this colossal act of choice can be paralleled in the choice of Albert Schweitzer, who laid aside a splendid and spectacular career in order to devote himself to medical work in an obscure part of Africa.

What is the inner evidence of such a change, such a second birth? It is the consciousness that reason is not superseded, but deepens into the whole range of intuitive and creative thought. Feeling deepens into passion, until all this *feeling* life is fused into a single invincible torrent of controlled outgoing energy, which is the true meaning of love. The will, which has become in an adult the finely tempered instrument of a developed personality—has become almost a steering-wheel—becomes now one with the steerer himself, who drives thenceforward into the uncharted future, accepting everything as it comes, the sun, the rain and the wind, the fog and the darkness, content to be guided by the magnetic power radiating continuously from the unknown, and acting upon the sensitive receiver of the intuitive faculty.

Mere acts, mere *doing*, become ceaseless activity, which being rhythmic brings its own appointed period of rest. Body serves mind and spirit as the perfect temple or vehicle of expression for thought, feeling, and activity. Will directs mind and body in one sharp spearpoint of single-mindedness thrusting forward into the unknown in complete freedom, because in service of the Spirit. And upon this moving spearpoint of the will the spirit glows, radiates, and shines, and penetrates—through will, mind, emotion, and body—thus 'lighting every man that cometh into the world.'

Some such experience as this is recorded in Charles Morgan's poem 'The Stream':—

All night the fury of contending will
 Raged in my head,
 Until my bed
 Seemed the tormented world that devil; fill
 With anguish mixt and hungry violence.
 I waited for the day with muted sense,
 Too dry to weep, even my terrors dumb,
 As if, while body waked, spirit were numb.

At last, as though I lay upon a hill
 Above a valley choked by envenomed thorn,
 Trackless and dark,
 I saw a spark
 Strike down from heav'n whence a stream was born
 Which, flowing from the zenith to the sea,
 Fierce and unswerving as the zeal of saints,
 Had yet the saints' reserved tranquillity,
 And gave to earth, its genius unconfined,
 The soundless passion of a single mind.

At maturity time ceases to signify. 'The readiness is all'—readiness not only for life but for death if necessary. Only when time ceases to signify (as, of course, it does in all the greatest things of life, as for example, in art and in personal relationship) can man come to terms with fear, and especially the fear of death. And only when we come to terms with the fear of death can we be said to have attained maturity.

At maturity life ceases to be a process and becomes an art. Perhaps we can get this clearer by considering what constitutes a work of art. It is the presence of certain qualities that are beyond the ordinary laws and restrictions of time and space, though housed maybe in some fragment of canvas or stone or music or in a poem—a presence whereby these mortal creations are illuminated, vitalized, invested with an invisible, intangible quality whose origin and home is in the unseen world. And it is the presence of some such unearthly quality housed in the human form that is the sign that we are making of our life a work of art and stamps us as mature persons.

Education then means so ordering the life of a child from birth to maturity that these stages may be passed through in progressive sequence, each stage awakening and satisfying the desires appropriate to it. Materials, instruction, and experience must be provided so that as each new appetite is awakened it may be given the

nourishment it demands. As each new potential faculty rises to consciousness it must be given scope for the experience which paves the way to the next phase.

So through the process of time, and within the limits of space we try to help the rising generation towards that state of full manhood where time and space do not ultimately signify, a state in which responsibility and sound citizenship are not ends in themselves, but natural products of man's normal relationship with the spiritual universe—a state in which each one of us can become and know himself to be a citizen of the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth.

What is the condition of remaining a citizen of the Kingdom of Heaven? Surely the maintenance of a satisfying and fortifying relationship or link with the unseen world. The meaning of the word religion is 'a link.' It is therefore necessary before concluding the chapter to ask the reader to consider what religion is and how this state of being linked is achieved, maintained, and cultivated.

III

In considering religion, we are considering finite Man's relationship with the infinite God, the relationship of a mortal creature indwelt by a spark from the undying fire, a creature whose growth and destiny are fulfilled in proportion as that eternal spark is nursed into flame by the breath of God, *i.e.* by the establishment of an ever-growing, mutually responsive relationship with his spiritual source.

In our early years parent and teacher are capable of playing a very large part in furthering or hindering the process of our establishment of this relationship. And one of the most serious mistakes we make in dealing with young people is to regard religion as a subject—either a subject in the school curriculum, or a weekly incident in the life of the adult. A habit of labelling one or more periods in the week 'Divinity' or 'Divine Service,' and more or less leaving religious education at that, does more than we suspect to queer the pitch at the outset.

It gives, without our meaning it, an official sanction to the departmentalization of an activity that is virtually killed the moment it is departmentalized. Religion is not a subject; it is an activity, an attitude, a way of living, of which we become more or less aware, according to our conscious need. It is all or nothing. To quote from an article that appeared in *The Times* recently: 'A man who becomes a true Christian does not merely add religion, as he might add philosophy or a knowledge of art, to his previous equipment; rather he becomes in St. Paul's phrase "a new creature." He is not enriched at one point, he is changed in all. His whole outlook on the world, his approach to his work, to his social life, to the public affairs of his time, will be altered, because all will be dominated by an underlying consciousness of things unseen and eternal.'

In art, man's relationship with God is through the medium of sound, stone, paint, clay; it is impersonal. In religion his relationship is immediate and personal, i.e. it involves the technique of direct personal communion with the unseen spiritual source of our life, the mind and heart of that universe of which we are each, individually, a significant and unique part or expression, able to function and grow only in so far as we are in dynamic contact with that source. The medium of contact is the individual human personality in which the image of God is latent, dormant, until by a combination of our own efforts, that of our educators, and the divine power of God himself, it is awakened to a sense of its divine origin, and to the need for conscious communion with it.

The means of contact is not, I think, primarily the emotions (though emotion must provide the motive power behind the means). The means of contact is the human will. Attempts at prayer fail and founder more often than for any other reason because it is not realized that prayer is chiefly a matter of the will. However protestant one's theology may be, one cannot do better than study the authorities of the Roman Church on the

art of Prayer. Of course, each man must find his own method of prayer, but I do not believe he can ever establish a strong, secure relationship with God until he is able habitually to hold himself towards God for periods, long or short, as one holds one's hand out towards a fire, or exposes one's body to the sun, deliberate acts of the will which require concentration, determination, patience, and practice. Moreover, this exposing of oneself to the fire or the sun presupposes radiant activity on the part of the fire and the sun. Just so is the relationship of man with God reciprocal, mutual. Indeed the part God plays, fortunately for us, is constant; it is our side of the process that is uncertain and spasmodic. God is always, as we acknowledge, 'more ready to hear than we to pray'; and it seems to me to be one of the prime objects of religious teaching to educate the will towards prayer. (I use the word prayer here in a sense distinct from that of intercession.)

That is one aspect of the relationship—the practised bending of the human will towards God. There is another aspect or attitude we need to cultivate, to educate—Willingness. Will and Willingness are, as it were, two sides of the same coin; or perhaps are better compared with swimming and floating. Before we exercise our will we need to acquire the faculty of patient waiting for the impact or guidance of God's will, just as the man sailing a boat must wait for the wind without which he cannot progress towards his goal; and he must learn the art of adapting himself to it, of accepting whatever wind comes; and he must conform the movements of his hands on the ropes and the tiller to this wind which blows 'where it listeth'.

Man's relationship with God is conditioned primarily, then, by this twofold attitude of Willingness—receptivity, acceptance; and its corollary, the exercise of the Will, the positive spontaneous choosing to align one's will with the will of God in active co-operation with that universal law which obtains in the spiritual world. The

maintenance of this attitude is made possible only by faith. Not by belief; belief is intellectual conviction based on experience. Faith comes before, not after, experience. Without experience (experiments) faith is a dead thing. Justified by experience, faith shapes itself into belief. It is by faith that man becomes a friend of God. By faith he chooses to act deliberately (as in relationship with any other friend) as if God were; and so he finds that God is.

I think it makes it easier to realize the significance of the life and experience of Jesus when we realize that human personality is the medium of our relationship with God. For we see in the person of Jesus the *exemplar* of the perfect relationship between Man and God, established in the same circumstances as we ourselves are placed in, *i.e.* in the setting of an earthly span, and subject to all the obstacles and embarrassments of time and space. For many of us I believe that our hope of achieving a satisfactory relationship with God is inspired and reinforced by considering the life of Jesus from this point of view.

What is the nature of this relationship? That of a father and son, as is demonstrated often enough in the life and in the parables of Jesus: one of mutual responsiveness, mutual faith, deriving reality, vitality from the free choice of each to work with the other, a freedom without which, between man and God or between man and man, there can be neither growth nor love. It is a relationship which gives to those who have attained it a peculiar sense of balance and purpose, allied with and expressing itself in that Joy which was to the pagan world the unique characteristic of the early Christians.

What then must we do? First, I think, cultivate our own appreciation and understanding of the Spirit, by seeking direct experience and contact with eternal Truth, Beauty, Goodness, Law—through the work and personality of great masters of Art and Religion. In proportion as we are impregnated, vitalized by this communion with reality—through them, or directly—

all that we say or do about Art, History and Religion will be illuminated. By the grace of God, this light of ours may then begin to lighten a little of the darkness of other minds. That is the best we can hope.

But is it so very little? It is, at all events, following Christ's own method, the method of 'peaceful penetration,' of quiet awakening, which he likened to the stirring of life in the seed; to the action of yeast, whose office it is to generate buoyancy and resilience; to the behaviour of salt, whose secret and kindly function it is to bring out the full flavour of its environment.

At this point, if not long before, the harassed reader, assuming that he has followed the argument, begins to mutter, 'This is a very dangerous teaching'; to which the writer would reply: Maybe; but life itself is a dangerous business; and it is in facing the risks and facing the facts rather than in trying to escape them that our best hope of ultimately overcoming the danger lies. And just because life is dangerous, education must train boys to 'live dangerously'; and surely the record of history and the experience of countless men and women goes to prove that the danger of choosing darkness, or the no-man's land of mist and fog, is far greater and far more fraught with ultimate disaster than the danger of adventuring towards the light.

[The substance of Sections II and III of this chapter appeared first in a contribution to *The Modern Churchman*, October, 1938.]

PARENTS

By A. S. NEILL

I HAVE NO idea what the head of a great public school thinks of Colonel Blimp when he comes to talk about Blimp Minor. Possibly the colonel, because he wears the old school tie, is easy to handle. The Blimps manage to retain their awe of, and respect for, the teachers of the old school. I have had one or two Blimps in my list of parents at Summerhill, and I found that they were exceedingly easy to bully. Once I nearly converted a general to Communism. The Blimps remain children all their lives, and this is true of all parents. The headmaster has only to apply the psychological principles he uses for children to their parents and all is well . . . or as well as can be expected.

Parents have nearly all gone through the school mill, and their attitude to the schools of their children is determined by their own past attitude to school authorities. So that a successful headmaster is one who knows how to deal with the fathers and mothers of his flock. There is a natural tendency for teachers to look upon every parent as a potential enemy, for every teacher has as many bosses as he has pupils . . . no, twice as many, for mother must be counted in.

And the parent has often a suspicious attitude towards the teacher. They are rivals, and this is especially the case when the children are in a boarding school. One of the reasons why hard schools are so popular is that the parent has no cause for jealousy. Bobby shows great enthusiasm when he gets home for the vac. In schools where children are happy and free there is sometimes a desire to stay at school during vacs., and naturally parents are jealous. I have lost quite a number of pupils through parental jealousy.

Indeed one of the biggest problems in parental attitudes in possessiveness. The child is a possession. His happiness must be such that it satisfies the parents' sense of possession. This attitude is always bound up with emotional ties, for, where is the lover who rejoices when his beloved finds happiness in another man's arms? Naturally the mother shows this possessiveness more readily than the father. The mother sees children from the inside, while the father sees them as objects. Let us consider, therefore, the mother.

A happy mother will tend to have happy children, and the happy mother is no problem to the teacher. It is the unhappiness of the mothers that makes so many children neurotic. In most cases unhappiness is the result of an unsatisfactory love life with the husband. The nagging mamma and the mamma who spoils her child have this in common, that their sex life is in some way starved. Sex gone wrong will appear in all sorts of tiresome ways—in over-anxiety for the children, in spankings, in moralizings, most dangerous of all in an unconscious sex attitude to the children. When the husband as a possession is lost, the children become more precious possessions than ever, and if there is anything more damaging to growth than being furiously possessed I never heard of it. A possessed child always has a strong element of hate for the mother, for possession is a navel cord of steel, a cord that the child is impotent to break.

I think that possessiveness in the father is a branch of his identification of self with his child. Certainly both sexes identify themselves with their children (another motive for jealousy when the children are happy at school. . . . 'We didn't have that luck: why should they?') This identification is most easily seen in parental concern about the child's future. The parents who have missed the bus in life really want to live their lives again in their children. I notice that most of my parents who nag their offspring about passing Matric. are those who never passed Matric. themselves; and, incidentally, let me remark that the best way to make a boy fail in Matric. is to badger him into

swotting for it. I recently wrote to one father saying that the only hope for his son's passing Matric. was for him to write the boy saying he didn't care a damn whether he sat it or not. A Marxian might say that the cause for worry over a child's future is primarily an economic one. This is no doubt true of normal parents: here I am writing about the unhappy parent who reacts abnormally in the matter. If you find a mother (or father) who can't let a child out of sight lest he be run over by a bus, or go beyond his knee-depth wading, or climb a tree, you may be sure that the parent has a neurotic attitude to the child . . . and to life. Always in such a case the child acquires a cowardly attitude to life. Possession makes cowards of us all.

There is in possessiveness a pardonable swank. Parents naturally want to be proud of their children. Unfortunately this pride can be gained at the expense of the child's soul. The inculcation of good manners with a view to impressing the people next-door is one of the lesser evils of this swank. I have never yet seen manners last more than a week when the child was free to be without manners, and here by manners I mean the silly little insincerities of the Excuse Me type, the shutting-doors-softly kind of thing. Natural children have no use for manners, and manners should be things that we acquire when we need them. In the same way children are sacrificed to parental ideas of the correct thing in dress. Unhappy adults invariably over-emphasize the importance of things that don't matter. One result is an annoying insincerity in the child. Three weeks ago a new boy, so very well brought up, got in my way in a passage. He apologized to me in a most insincere voice: 'Oh, sir, I beg your pardon.' To-day I got in his way. 'You silly ass, look where you are going,' he said, pleasantly, but I rejoiced, for there wasn't a hint of insincerity in his voice. But, alas, I am rather afraid that when he goes home for the long vac., the father and mother will be appalled at his regression to barbarism, and will send him to a school where he will be properly brought up.

I deal with the middle class, but in the working class also one finds what we might call the swank complex.

This is to be expected in a type of civilization that values swank, and makes money the standard of success. Mrs. Green likes to think that her little Willie is more of a gentleman than that Brown brat over the backyard paling. Swank in the working and so-called lower middle class is best seen in that iniquity, Sunday Clothes. You, reader, like to swank, and so do I. But I can't help feeling that it is rather cowardly to make children do our swanking for us. They have enough to do to swank about themselves. Happy parents rejoice when they see their children happy and muddy and grubby.

A sad case is that in which father and mother disagree about the upbringing of their children. This may not occur frequently in upper-class circles, because however much dukes and duchesses disagree about other things, they are likely to be at one in thinking that the only education worthy of the name is that which can be had at Eton or Harrow. I never have a duchess come to me saying that the duke wants to send the heir to Eton, whereas she prefers Summerhill. Nor does it happen in working-class circles, for the only choice the workers have of a school is the local State school.

It is in the middle class that we find so many cases of disagreement, between father and mother, and here let me hazard the opinion that the middle class is a futile class that ought to be abolished with or without violence, for it is neither one thing nor the other. It hates and fears the working class, and it apes the upper class. It is dangerously moral because it is not sure of itself, and it is snobbish for the same reason. It is highly respectable and outwardly religious. It is of the three classes the most unhealthy, and the most dangerous to children. The child of Park Lane has very little family life, and the child of the slums has the whole street as its family, but the Golders Green child has the family the whole time, the conventional, depressing, timid family that deadens the young soul. Bill 'Awkins never differs with his Liza about young Alf's education: he never thinks that Alf should adorn Eton. But John Smith, Esq., of Hampstead

may want his son to go to a Public School, while his wife (rather a modern young thing . . . she was at Bedales) is convinced that the boy should go to Curry or Neill. Then there is a nice hell—a respectable one of course in Hampstead.

Oh, I see so many of this kind. It is almost hopeless to try to deal with their children. Children feel things when they do not know them consciously, and a child always feels when its parents disagree about schooling. Such a child never settles down, for he wants to please both mummy and daddy. I have had numbers of such children in Summerhill. If mummy sent them they try to be happy for a term or two: then discontent sets in. They write home: 'Dear Mummy, I don't like this school. I want to go to school where I'll be made to learn things.' This is the child's attempt to please daddy for a change. He goes to another school, and of course is wretched, for he is not only in a stricter school, but he is also displeasing mummy.

I know of children who have been to half a dozen schools in this way. It would be an excellent thing if one of the grounds for divorce were 'Incompatibility in educational ideals.' No child should suffer the distressing conflict between father and mother. A child is a loyal little beggar, and when he cannot be loyal to both, his life takes on a warped bitter tone.

Nowadays I try to refuse children of such parents. I tell the parents that it is hopeless, and I advise them to seek a school that will in some measure satisfy both parties. One difficult problem arises here: if I tell a mother that I refuse to have her child at any price she very often finds a sudden realization that Summerhill is the only school she wants for her child. Usually I am adamant because I realize that the sudden enthusiasm is merely the result of the old forbidden-fruit complex. (When I retire I think of setting up a tea-shop in Piccadilly with a notice in great letters: Only Men of Six Feet Can Enter Here. I feel sure that all the five-foot-sixers would try to come in on their toes.)

I come back again to what I said about parents being children. Any comparatively honest man will find a thousand infantile traits in himself. The difficulty about marriage is, therefore, that it is the union of two children. The coming of offspring simply complicates matters by adding a few rivals to the original family of two. I have known quite a lot of fathers who were jealous of their sons, mothers who looked upon their daughters as rivals for father's affection. The fathers of 1914-18 weren't always actuated by patriotism when they encouraged their sons to join up. A cynic has said that three's company, two's a crowd, but in many marriages this does not apply. A man tends to make his wife mother him, and the arrival of the first child robs the man of his demand for mothering. Maybe the masculine enthusiasm for boarding-schools has the ulterior motive of being the only child left at home with mummy.

Adult jealousy of the young is something that must be faced. I have constantly to face it in myself, but because I am fairly conscious of it I can prevent its giving me a bias in dealing with youth. Many fathers and mothers are quite unconscious of it: many are indignant at the mere suggestion of its existence. They rationalize away anything brought forward as evidence. If you tell a father who beats his child that he hates that child, he will indignantly explain that he is beating him for the child's own good. He cannot see what any outside observer can see, that beating is an act of hate at all times. No mother who loves her child can spank it. The spanking parents are behaving exactly as all other small children behave, and the spanking is fundamentally a scrap between two ego-centric kids struggling against each other for power. The grown-up kid would seem to win every time, but he or she never does: hate loses the child for ever.

Spanking parents do not as a rule send their children to Summerhill. I do, however, meet parents who indulge in what we might call vocal spanking. The proverbial example of this type is the woman who said: 'Go and see what Bobby is doing and tell him he mustn't.' The over-

anxious mother transfers her own fears to her children. Fear is at the root of many a parental mistake. Fear for the child's future: not, as one would imagine in these days, fear that the child will be bombed to death; not even fear for the child's occupational future, although this is often the rationalized excuse. It is just fear of life and fear of death in the mother herself. Unsatisfied love becomes converted into fear. *Was soll man machen?* In the absence of schools for problem parents we cannot allay a mother's fears or a father's discontent. We cannot protect children from the self-hate of their parents. And all spankings and criticism and moralizations are subjective attempts of the parent to better himself or herself.

Only the children of the happy and busy parents have a good chance of a successful life.

Now let us consider money. Children are priceless. . . . 'I wouldn't sell you, darling, for all the money in the world,' an adoring mother will say. Yet two minutes later she may be exceeding wroth because baby drops a plate that costs 3d. at Woolworths. All the same she would certainly not sell that baby for ten million pounds. She loves it . . . but doesn't like it when it breaks crockery. That is quite understandable and very human. We none of us like those we love all the time. A careful study of mothers almost leads one to conclude that money is more important than children. Being good in the home is in the main refraining from doing anything that is going to cost money. I think that we all have a more or less neurotic attitude to money. If I feel that I have been overcharged to the extent of tuppence I am furious; if I lose a golf ball it pains me; yet I pay out cash for tobacco and cinemas and drinks without thought. I also find that I get more irritated with children who are always asking for money than I should do. I fancy that parents feel very much the same. Unconsciously we value children according to their size and importance. Our interests are not their interests, their values differ from our values. We tend to give them inferior things, partly of course, because children destroy and neglect things. A father would scarcely think of

giving his son of 9 a Stanley 55 Mode' plane when he could get a plane at Woolworths that would satisfy the boy. I know that an expensive plane would be ruined by the average boy of 9, yet I wonder if our giving children cheap things has not a deeper motive. I wonder if we feel that they aren't worthy of good things. We grown-ups are children who have reached discretion: *we* can look after things. We have the arrogant superiority of elder brothers and sisters.

On the other hand we find parents who seem to over-value their children, so far as giving them money is concerned. The less love you have for your child the more money you are likely to give him. The least loved children I have had in Summerhill have been those who got the biggest postal orders from home. The fat postal order is an attempt to buy the love that the parents feel they have not deserved. Money and love are bad bed-fellows.

I may seem to be taking the viewpoint that all parents are neurotic when they aren't congenital idiots. This arises from the fact that one doesn't need to write about the parents who are normal in their attitude to child and school.

I remember a boy who came to me as a bad problem. Two years later his mother came to see him.

'And how is Bert?' she asked me, and I replied: 'I don't know. I never seem to see him now.'

'Thank God he is normal at last,' she cried with relief. She had grasped that when a child is normal he is busy all day long, and does not need to seek protection or notice from headmasters.

So it is with my relationship to parents. The bad ones seem to be always getting into prominence: the good ones come and see their children and usually do not trouble to see me.

It is too much to expect that all parents will be ideal. Like all of us they have been left uneducated. Their own schools have given them a set of false values. Take, for instance, the undue importance that most parents attach to learning. If Willie can't read at 9 his parents get

into a panic; they see him a dud for life. If Mary fails in Matric, there is another panic. Few there are who can see education as something much greater and wider than a smattering of useless school subjects. Parents are men and women who have passed through the schools, schools that gave them mostly what is unessential in life, schools that deliberately kept them from knowing anything about life, schools that kept evading the issue all the time. Segregated schools which kept boys and girls ignorant of each other, which by their nature encouraged an unconscious homosexual fixation; academic schools that prepared for life by teaching dead languages; elementary schools that had as their main object the production of workers easy to exploit. These schools produced men and women who could not see the trees for wood, who had no perspective and no culture. Worst of all they had no glimmering of the workings of the human personality. They were unfree in their school benches, unfree later in their jobs, unfree all the time in their outlook. Knowing nothing of themselves they were expected to know and understand their children. Slaves to convention themselves they had to make their children slaves also. True, indeed, that most of them forgot all the rubbish they had learned in school when they left it, but they had nothing to put in its place. The enormous sale of our fatuous newspaper Press proves what I am saying. The sensational press with its blaring headlines about nothings can only flourish in an uneducated community. In fact, the Press furnishes in some manner what was lacking in the school education—the emotional factor.... ‘Shots in a West End Flat’... yes, when Spain and China are in hell, and the rest of the world is on the brink of it.

To deal successfully with children requires that the emotions should be educated. Emotion is the chief characteristic of the child... and of the adult. Stunted intellect will not make a child a problem: always the problemicity is the result of trouble in the emotional life. Parents whose only training has been the bleak intellectual one of the schools are bound to fail again and again when

faced with the task of dealing with the emotions of their children. This is especially the case where sex is concerned. Under our system of education parents are compelled to look upon the emotions of sex as unmentionable. Easily half the problem children in England are problems because the parents' attitude to masturbation is an uneducated one: the parents hand on the ignorant prejudices that they acquired as children. If parents had had an emotional education they would realize that all their warnings and threats about masturbation were destructive and hate-compelling. They would know that what one says is never so important as what one does and how one looks. They would recognize that all moral lectures are useless in a creative sense, positive sense, but dangerous in a negative sense. You simply cannot teach things of deep value: these can appear only under complete individual freedom. You may teach a boy maths, but you cannot teach him that honesty is the best policy. You can teach him maths because it is outside yourself, but you cannot teach honesty because you are not honest yourself. Of course you aren't. There is no honest man living. You cannot claim, as the Oxford Group does, that you have attained absolute purity, because purity is only a term invented by humbugs. What is impurity, anyway? Talking about water-closets? Talking, thinking, doing sex? All humbug, invented by the pure of whom the cynic said: To the Pure all things are Impure.

Parents set up moral standards because they have never learnt what true morals are. Public morals are things that we are born into and accept without thought, just as we accept religion or politics or anything else. But public morals form a prison wall: only the private morals are of value, that is, the morals that we gain through intellectual and emotional freedom. Parents tend to impose on their children public morals, just as they impose on them public manners and dress. This is highly dangerous, because morals change with the generations. When I was a boy it wasn't a social offence to get singing drunk, but to-day society does not approve of a drunk man. Our grandmothers talked about limbs, while we talk of legs.

The stage was immoral, but to-day an actress is very respectable. Staid journals like *The Times* and *Punch* may still print d—n, but most papers give us damn and conversations can give us bloody. If anyone had written approving of masturbation forty years ago heaven only knows what would have happened to him, yet to-day I can do so; I can lecture openly on the subject, even in Calvinist South Africa. Morals and customs keep changing, and it is wrong to attempt to give the new generation the moral values that were handed out to us. In my own school I find that there is quite a lot of 'bad' language, even shocking language... at least that is the term Aunt Jane uses. Immoral children; yet, you know, I am convinced that no child in my school will lie to its own children about sex and birth and masturbation, will ever spank a child, will ever demand of a child honesty and truthfulness and the other five deadly virtues. The emotional release, of which swearing is a symptom, drives away most of the humbug of life; it leads to sincerity to self and life.

It is a queer business being honest with oneself, being sincere to oneself. It is a hard business because we want to escape facing ourselves. Let a stern father sit down and ask himself: 'Why did I go off the deep end when my boy made a lewd remark before his mother?' If he has the ability to go deep enough he will find that it is his own interest in lewdness that is bothering him...

I like the old story of the spinster who complained to the police that a man across the street did gymnastics naked standing in front of his window. A bobby was sent to investigate. He craned his neck but had to confess that he couldn't see the offending man.

'But you must put the chair on the table and stand on it,' said the spinster helpfully.

The moral parent is rather like that. I think of the thousands of mothers who were educated under sex-starved spinsters, and I wonder that mothers are so good as they are. I think of the thousands of boys who got their sex instruction darkly in black corners, and I wonder

they make such decent fathers. I think of the emotional harm that the churches have done to both sexes, the hate of life that religion compels: the criminal insistence on our being born in sin, when the new generation knows, or feels, that sin is a myth, that it never existed.

Here a parenthesis on the Oxford Group movement. Just as Fascism is the newest form that a fading capitalism has taken, so is the Oxford Group the latest form of a dying religion. They have close affinities: didn't Buchman thank God for Adolf Hitler? In a recent book on the Group the author tells of a man who was converted. His profits in business rose immediately. Hitler demands race purity: Buchman demands moral purity. The Group accepts the old idea of sin. It boasts of the young men it has saved from impure thoughts and acts. In fact it is as antagonistic to human nature as the old religion was. It is trying, as Fascism is, to capture the growing new generation for the *status quo*. I call it a regression to religious barbarism, just as Fascism is a regression to political barbarism. It seems to flourish, like Fascism again, most easily in the middle classes, and quite a number of young parents have come under its influence. I read in a Group book that Absolute Honesty, Absolute Purity, Absolute Unselfishness, Absolute Love are necessary. I tremble to think that young parents are trying to apply these impossible ideals to their children.

Ideals are a curse. They are always advocated by failures, and there would be no failures if we didn't set up an ideal standard. Neurotics are sick because they have chosen an ideal, or rather had one chosen for them, and have failed to live up to it. If Oxford Group principles are applied to children they are almost certain to lead to conflict between the natural and the ideal. Absolute Unselfishness! Why, a child is a bundle of selfishness, naturally so, rightly so. Absolute Love! But a child cannot love; it can only demand love from others. The Oxford Group has no better understanding of human behaviour than the Church of England has. It has the

same wrong antithesis—body versus spirit. Someone called it the Salvation Army of the Middle Classes ; yes, but the Salvation Army of the proletariat does not expect its reformed drunkards to get nice cheques flowing in to prove that serving God is incidentally a paying proposition.

I felt it necessary to mention the Oxford Group because it is a phenomenon of the times. I hope it is the last attempt to preserve the life of the Devil, for without the Devil we shouldn't be asking for God's 'guidance,' even in so small a matter as the selection of a necktie. At the same time it must be admitted that no member of the O.G. is likely to beat a child : we must give it all credit for its humanitarianism. My point is that however much good there may be in a movement, if it retains ideals, if it postulates sin, it is dangerous to youth.

One of my old boys happened to board in a hostel where the other boarders were all Oxford Groupers. They met at 6.30 each morning to confess their sins in public. One of them asked Fred why he didn't come. Fred's reply was : 'I've been decently brought up : I've nothing to confess.'

That sums up what I want to say to parents. Bring up your children in such a way that they have nothing to confess. Keep away from them all religious and moral precepts that will force them to repress what nature gave them. Let them be free to form their personal ideals . . . these arise spontaneously ; at the moment mine is to play golf like Henry Cotton. Freedom is the only possible antidote to self-hate. No freely brought up child will ever bait a Jew or support a Franco. This is a terribly important point to-day, for we are faced with a complete regression to barbarism : we are living in a world of hate and destruction. The children at school to-day are to enter a new world, a wild, mad world of bombs and gas. They cannot escape the volcanic upheavals that accompany the last fight of the people who own the world's wealth, and at bottom that is the meaning of the Fascist aggression.

The children are going out into this world armed with what? A smattering of school subjects, a bunch of religious and social prejudices, a sense of defeatism, often expressed by youth as: 'What's the good of bothering about a career when we are going to be gassed to hell?' Latin and Arithmetic will be of little comfort when the shells begin to scream. Then the only thing of value will be a stout heart, a belief in life, a conviction that the hate devil must be subdued. Spanish children have this, not because they were well educated in their schools, but because death and misery made them face new values.

We do not want to wait for war to make the children face life bravely and hopefully. We must begin to prepare them now. They and their children will build a new world. Let us stand back humbly, giving them freedom to go ahead. All our prohibitions, our censures, our punishments will make them unsure of themselves: we shall give them a war within themselves that will exhaust them before the world war is upon them. You and I are not the world: we don't matter much. The world sits in our schools to-day. Do let us be honest enough to take a back seat and leave them free to create a better world.

TEACHERS

By E. GRAHAM HOWE

WHO IS THE perfect teacher and how can we tell him? By his fruits, perhaps; by the results that his labours earn in the sturdy balanced growth and original character of those who have been fortunate in his care. Or by the judgment of those who have sat at his feet while he taught them; they are not often wrong in the way they weigh him up, for sitting in judgment, he himself is judged. If he can pass as a 'good chap,' that is high praise from such critics, for they do not ask for his perfection. They prefer more human qualities, and like him best if they judge that he is like themselves.

And they are right, which gives us a good start in finding the answer to our question. The perfect teacher must be a good learner, too. He is learning with and from his class, as they are learning with and from him. (In other languages, this fact is made more plain by having the same words for 'to learn' and 'to teach,' e.g. '*apprendre*.') Learning from life, his pupils are his lesson-book, and from them there is no end to the amount that he can learn. It is quite certain that teacher and taught will both get on better if they understand that together they form a team, and are not related as driver and driven, as bad teachers sometimes suppose. They are not even leader and led, or providence and needy: they are more humbly related to each other than that, and both belong on the same side of the plate at the banquet which is life.

What else can we say about our ideal teacher, besides this first important point that he is a learner, too? There is something about the spirit of him which, like all spiritual qualities, is hard to define. We can say that his heart is in the right place. Or better, we can say that he is 'lit.' There is a quality of fire about him that burns

from some place far below the surface of his life. It is unquenchable, tireless, and enduring. It does not burn a chap, but it does warm him. It does not scorch him with sarcasm, but it does encourage him when things seem difficult. He has an airy touch upon all problems. This teacher's insight can bring enlightenment to dark places, and it smoothes the path of ignorance where it is rough. It is as if he himself is guided by an inner light, and so he knows how to light the guiding lamp in others, too. He is not leader, seeing that he himself is led, but he can teach the leadership of light.

He is wise ; which is as much more than being learned, as the whole is more than the part. If he has knowledge, he uses it sparingly, for he knows the dangers of an overdose of this advantage, and the subsequent pains and penalties of indigestion. He knows that you can have too much of anything, however good : too much teaching, too much knowledge, and too much desire for the power that learning brings. If he has not knowledge, he is not afraid to admit that empty space in his equipment. How then can he blame ignorance in others, knowing and valuing it in its proper place within himself ? He cheerfully welcomes it as a friendly opposite, balancing his learning and keeping it and himself in place, for his security. To-day's ignorance leads us to to-morrow's learning, and darkness is for our eventual illumination. But there is always more, and time is long. Meanwhile, let's see.

He is a patient man, in spite of all his inward fire. He does not want an answer now, and does not value cheap efficiency nor superficial knowledge. He is himself too deeply rooted in the earth of understanding to over-value evidence of too early fruit. He is balanced, all-round, four-square, and wants to see the same sturdy growth in those he teaches. If there must be weakness, he would rather see a strong heart and a weak head, than a strong head and a weak heart, because he knows the importance of a strong foundation if the house is to stand against the subsequent storms.

He has a sense of proportion, and sees things in terms of their wholeness, not as unrelated parts. He sees both

the past and the future in the living NOW. He links the opposites, and sees relationships with clear intelligence. He is not clever, but he knows, intuitively, which the next move must be. And he has a sense of humour that can laugh, within himself, sometimes out loud, but never at the one who causes him to smile. This laughter is part of his life. It is not a thing apart, to be evoked in order to disperse ill-humour, or to humiliate someone who has laid himself open to ridicule, or to bring him praise from others who also enjoy the pleasure of laughing at misfortunes not their own.

It is characteristic of him that somehow he always has the knack of being encouraging. That is because he is quite simply matter-of-fact, and takes things as and when he finds them. If something is the truth, however disappointing or unpleasant, it is his master for him to learn from it. He always has this attitude of a willing servant to the truth, however it appears. He brings his light and studies it all round, and says 'Well, let's see!' His sympathy brings understanding, and there is no aggressiveness in his approach to trouble, and no anxiety in his touch with pain. He carries his own burden, and minds his own business. His example is itself a help, and in many ways can show others how to carry their troubles more lightly. He does not lift them off, nor argue them away, because he knows what benefactors these unpleasing teachers are, if only we can learn. His attitude of most profound encouragement seems to say 'Go on, and be yourself.' That is in itself the greatest help in a world in which we are usually persuaded that we are only wrong, and that it would be much better if we were to copy someone else.

There is a tenderness about him that never makes him soft, because it is an all-round quality, and never a partial one. He knows pleasure, and pain also: he knows gaining, and losing also. And he knows which of these pairs of opposites are our best teachers at any given time, and knows how to dose them in due proportion, never in excess. He does not feed beef-steak to a baby's

stomach, nor pap to adolescents who require something more meaty. He believes in giving teeth something to chew, and energy something to overcome. He thwarts you : but only to stimulate your own reply. He punishes you : but only as a reminder of penalties that await the transgressor from the path of law. He is too much the disciple of his truth to neglect discipline. Truth is his teacher, and so he teaches truth. He does not crave for popularity, but earns it by being indifferent to it. He can face his critics, in the same way that he hopes that they will face his criticism. He knows that life is full of ups and downs, and puts his pupils over the jumps and through the bogs and deserts, to develop their endurance. He wants athletes for life : not only in their bodies, but in their hearts and heads, for balanced life requires all round accomplishment.

He has not the least idea how great a man he is, and couldn't believe it if you told him so. He can't help feeling rather an unimportant servant at the gate of life, because it seems to him his job is only to keep his pupils willing, warm and open, while some power other than his own comes through and does the work. He watches something grow, pruning and weeding now and then, but claims no responsibility for the miracle of growth. He is an agent and a means, but neither a master nor an end. He takes his orders from Life and obeys them as all good servants do. He makes no claim to administer dictatorship. So how can he be great ? Life does the work : Life teaches : and to that, lit by the light of Truth as far as he can see, he gives the honour. And he is right. But all the same, he is great.

PROPER MOTIVES

Why should anybody want to become a teacher ? There are several answers, which we will divide into 'proper' and 'improper' motives. To deal with the proper ones first, in order of importance.

(1) Because he must be one. This is the meaning of 'vocation' : he is a teacher, and therefore he must be

a teacher. He is born, and so he must be made. He is called, and so he must follow. Because he is obedient to his calling, he has at heart the first lesson. He has mastered because he wants to serve.

As an artist, he enjoys the creative process of aiding and abetting life, which is the master artist. Above all, he values the economy of form which is simplicity.

As a gardener, he enjoys kneeling at the altar of growth. He prunes and weeds so that his plants can grow more robustly and have a fairer chance to find and fulfil themselves in the whole pattern of the garden.

As a man, he loves children.

(2) A job is a job: all jobs are fun in so far as you can master the technical problems with some degree of efficiency. Schoolmastering is especially fun, because you are dealing with living problems and need to develop a very sensitive and adaptable kind of efficiency if you are to make a success of it. It is not a routine matter, but a rather exciting adventure.

(3) It earns a sufficient reward (or doesn't it?). The commercial motive, be it said, is quite a proper one. 'The labourer is worthy of his hire.' But producers are only highly paid upon the stage: farmers, gardeners, teachers, all artists, have to find some deeper recompense, in the worth of the labour itself.

IMPROPER MOTIVES

What other motives can there be to provide the teacher with his driving force? Let us assume that the teacher is *en route* from A to B, where A is something worse (e.g., ignorance, chaos) and B is something better (e.g., knowledge, order). We are agreed, whatever each may stand for, that B is better than A. Yet there are still two motives for the movement from A to B. The teacher may want to *leave* A, because he is afraid of it: or to *arrive* at B, because he prefers it. (Two travellers in a train from Birmingham to London would illustrate the case, if one were wanted by the police in Birmingham, and the other wanted to meet his fiancée in London.)

Why is this hairsplitting about motive so important? Because it causes a difference in behaviour. We do not behave in the same way when we are propelled from behind as we do when we are being attracted from in front. The traveller *vis a tergo* must always be somewhat lacking in calm and dignity, or else it is only a mask he wears with which to save his face. If we only wish to go somewhere better, there is not so great a hurry, and there may even be a deep content. But, if we are anxiously escaping, no speed is fast enough for us or for those who must travel with us upon the journey. The motive in the former case is positive, and in the latter, negative. Behaviour differs accordingly.

This matter of our motive, even though it is unseen, will make a deal of difference not only to ourselves, but to all the others who may be travelling with us. If we are escaping, we shall display an anxious mood, competitive and hurried, with little interest for events upon the way, and no great satisfaction on arrival, for who can feel sure that the pursuit is far behind? If on the other hand, we are moving with desire to reach some point ahead of us, we shall make more comfortable companions: we shall not be so quarrelsome for best place, for if we feel safe from behind, what is the hurry? The moving scene is always interesting, and 'now' is not so bad as long as we are not in fearful flight, with one eye over our shoulder looking for trouble. It is certain that we cannot enjoy life if we are engaged in the all-important business of escaping from the unknown. In our movement from A to B (which we may all agree to be desirable), the question is, what moves us? Is it fear of a kick from behind, or is it legitimate longing for what is ahead?

The motive force of teaching may thus be either fear or love; or it may be a confused mixture of the two. The teacher who is ruled by fear, is discontented, negative and destructively critical. He is compelled to be in a superior position, because he feels safer there. His behaviour indicates: 'I do not like things as they are, they frighten me. I want to get away from here to somewhere better.'

I must get on. I want more knowledge, for my safety's sake, because I think all this uncertainty is a bad thing for me. Besides, knowledge is power: and surely power is useless for me unless I have more than you.' Expressed or implied, the force of this motive is from behind. Things as they are at A must be left behind as soon and as far as possible, for he can only feel 'good' in so far as he is moving rapidly to some other and better place. And so, compelled to hurry, he is also compelled to drag his pupils with him. Meanwhile, whatever and wherever they are, they are much more liable to seem wrong than right. He is in too much of a hurry to stop to inquire, but if he could stop to wonder at all (though that would certainly be dangerous), he might ask himself if circumstances are likely to cause him any less anxiety when he has arrived at his hopes' haven, B?

But let us now consider the other alternative, in which flight from weakness, discomfort, or ignorance, is not the ulterior motive for the pursuit of knowledge, but life is allowed to move on through our disciplined acceptance of the pains and pleasures of things as they are. We only want to *grow*. This teacher's behaviour indicates: 'I have not got all I want by any means: I shall probably never have it, as long as I live. I seem to know very little: the more I learn, the more of my ignorance I discover. Fortunately or unfortunately for me, we all seem fools, more or less. Teachers seem to be rather more dogmatic than their pupils, but not more content or even competent, for all that they can show of greater knowledge. Anyway, what is all the hurry? This exploitation of a moral urgency seems to cause a great deal of unnecessary fuss and bother; it leads to endless interference and ultimate disappointment. Let us be content to jog along together, for things and people are not so bad, as long as we do not try suddenly to alter them or take advantage of them, exploiting them for our own selfish ends. But still I quite agree: B is better than A, so meanwhile we'll go that way and hope to arrive one day. However, if we don't, we shall at least have enjoyed the journey.' We may feel inclined to blame our easy exponent of the second

alternative for laziness, but if we must apportion blame there is much to be said against the restless ambition and more heroic methods of the anxious moralist, who is the dogmatic missionary of a vicarious salvation.

The negative motive in teaching is more concerned with 'Then' than 'Now,' and with 'Ought' than 'Is.' But boys are as they are, not as they ought to be, and our problem is always 'Now.' We can either live now, letting our experience feed us now for our full digestion, or escape as best we can, hoping for some subsequent meal more to our chosen taste. It is unfortunate that so many of us should live through each moment prejudiced by memories of the past and by desires for the future, so that all enjoyment of this living 'Now' is liable to be squeezed out. The fact remains, however, that we are always living 'Now,' so that to escape from 'Now' is to escape (if we can) from life itself. But escape from anything is surely not the higher purpose of education? Rather it is that by living more fully in this 'Now,' accepting the whole measure of our experience, we may learn to live more abundantly. 'Hereafter' thus becomes incidental, and our greatest goal is 'Now.'

If 'Now' is not so good as we might hope (as indeed it often is not), we may well be tempted to improve it by getting 'on,' 'up' or 'away': but the force of motive is then fear from behind whatever may be its stated goal, and our education will become a competitive, compulsive and urgent morality, barren of ultimate satisfaction and doomed by its motive and its method to its own defeat. Yet if we can but learn to live more fully 'Now,' the hereafter can be left to take care of itself, for the simple reason that once it comes it can but be another 'Now,' again to be fully used by our responsiveness and acceptance.

Another way of expressing this analysis of motive is to divide it between 'wholeness' and 'best.' To seek the wholeness leads us to the 'Now': but to seek the 'best' (which is not 'now' or we should not be seeking it so anxiously), excellent as that may seem to be as an objective, can but lead us away from reality 'now' to

a very hypothetical and unreal 'to-morrow.' It takes much clear and impartial thinking before we can see this matter in the light of whole and balanced judgment. Sentimental moralizing would be less dangerous if it were not so virtuously common, so apparently reasonable, so deceptively convincing and so actively strong.

OTHER MOTIVES

Before we leave this matter of our motives, we may also consider other useful but ulterior motives, which move the teacher to his chosen task. 'Why do you want to be a teacher?' Of course the vocation may have been chosen as a last resort, rather by the complete silence of all other impelling voices than by any more particular sense of calling. It is unfortunately true that some never really *choose* to become teachers at all, but, finding themselves barren of any other hope, are forced to take up that profession as a last resort. Leaving these unfortunates on one side (as indeed they are always liable to be left), let us consider the intentions of more ardent enthusiasts in pursuit of educational benefits for others.

'I am fond of boys.' So far, so good, but we must further wonder why, because all desire is somewhat dangerous.

There are some of us who would do unto others as we would they should do unto us, and who therefore are inclined to love others as we wish that we might ourselves be loved. The result of such a reciprocal identification is far from being free from danger, for the simple reason that it seeks to escape from the basic truth of reality: 'I am NOT you.' If we admit this difference, is it safe to assume that what is good for me must also be good for you? Unfortunately for us, the simple morality of the kind that 'what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander' may lead to sentimental bondage, where false identification causes great confusion amidst the changing facts of growth and personality.

It does not do for a teacher to be so fondly 'motherly.' He must be whole in all his relationships, if he is to be the

mediator of the wholeness of life. His own longing for the perfect 'mother,' who is all love and kindness, may lead him to desire to be (and thus to have, vicariously) that unduly exalted personage who is at once both providence and saviour, finding a beloved family in the congregation of other peoples' children in his class. But if the teacher is to be whole, he must not be only a mother, kind and protective; he must be both mother and father too, thus mediating to both desire and discipline, interest and routine. Of recent years the tendency of educational policy has been to swing from 'fatherly' to 'motherly' extremes. But all such motherly mentors are inclined to show bias through their excessive kindness. Finding their uneasy sentimentality in conflict with too many disappointing facts, they have to find a scape-goat upon whom to vent their spleen. Each and every virtue in the teacher requires to be balanced, if his teaching is not to be one-sided. Therefore kindness by itself is not enough, for Life is not so kind. Life teaches discipline, whether we like it or not, and it must be the teacher's aim in his person and by his method to represent that other teacher, Life.

Because 'it is nice to feel that you are helping someone!' Yes, indeed it is: and unfortunately we are often taught that such benevolent interference is both wise and safe. All sentimental moralists will feel themselves deeply wounded by a question which seems to them to be so cruelly cynical, but we must think again: 'Why does it give us so nice a feeling to help others?' This is a very pressing question that drives at the heart of motive, creating much defensive protest in response. But where we feel most sure that *anything whatsoever* is 'best,' we need to feel most suspicious of our motive, for all may not be as good as it politely seems. The best gets past our guard so easily, which is why it is the favourite disguise of egotism. The pressing question pursues: 'Yes, but best for whom? And who can know assuredly what is the best? And is it always right to have the best?' To be self-critical upon such a point may need a great effort of analysis, but it is necessary if we are to be on our guard.

The fact is that all would-be saviours are very dangerous people, because however much we may wish it, those we want to save cannot be saved unless they also save themselves.

The would-be altruism of 'Because I want to help you!' is a dangerous mood for teachers. But, we say, it is unselfish and that must be good for us both? But wait, teacher, wait. Altruism is not always what it seems. We all like to help one another, we all like to feel unselfish and to feel sure of being good. Opportunity for experiencing self-approval is not common, so we like to feel that we are being generous, especially when we are only called upon to give away what we feel we can easily spare. That is partly why children are so constantly being given things: first presents and toys, then knowledge and, most generously of all, opinions and prejudices. What is the harm that comes from too much of this generosity? Sadly, the answer is Disaster. Can this be what we really intended by the motive of unselfishness? These generous givers always mean well, but that is not enough. For facts must be taken as well as given, and the painful fact for every teacher to take is that *what this child now needs* is not what we so generously and of our abundance *want to give this child*.

We must learn generously to feel more respect for what our children are, and less for what we can give them to make them something else. Life is hard: growth is tedious: 'being' is lonely, and 'becoming' is dangerous. It is so much easier to deal arbitrarily with the problems of another's child, than to abide within the circumstances of our own problems, first solving them for ourselves. 'Mind your own business!' is an important lesson, but it is very hard to learn it. The method of vicarious salvation is apparently the cheapest solution to so much of our own difficulty. Weakness sometimes seeks power over others weaker still and sometimes is afraid to let weakness take a risk. Uncertainty seeks to fasten others in the bonds of dogma, and ignorance teaches prejudices and feels more satisfied thereby. No wonder we feel so sure: 'I want to

be a teacher, because I am fond of children and I feel I want to help them.' It is not enough that we should so generously want to give, for sometimes it is far more blessed to receive.

It is wise to admit that we are all to some extent afraid of ignorance, because of the sense of weakness and inferiority that it engenders. Therefore the desire for knowledge must come under our suspicion, or there is danger that knowledge will harden into dogma and principle be lost in becoming cast-iron prejudice, while both are used offensively in self's defence.

There are many children whose anxious pursuit of knowledge is not a tendency that it is wise to thrust forward uncritically and without careful understanding. For knowledge is power, and to children denied the power of love in childhood, revenge may prompt the love of power instead, to compensate somewhat for their unbearable loss. But teachers are apt to praise these urgent seekers after marks, seeing only virtue in their ambition to be always at the top. They do not stop to see the reason why, which is compulsion from behind. Blind to the difference in motive, they do not recognize the danger of such unbalanced purpose. But in fact it is apt to lead only to disappointment and nothing of real value in the end, unless a nervous breakdown restores the balance that was lost.

The examination system itself presents an ulterior motive, in that the purpose of education is subordinated to the lesser aim of pleasing an examining board, who are not sufficiently enlightened as to the results of cramming. Methods of punishment are also guilty of this same fault in that their purpose may be either to make matters easier for the teacher or harder for the child. The habit of punishing another for our own guilty misdeeds or repressed desires is too well known to deserve more than passing reference, but it accounts for much that passes for moral discipline.

Much of the motive of our teaching is of this ulterior kind, being at least to some extent under the neurotic

dictatorship of flight from fact. It must be emphasized, therefore, that wherever ulterior motives exist, they are doing harm to our educational efficiency, by introducing a false façade of appearance to cover an underlying reality. Children are quick at first to recognize the truth, and are not easily deceived: but they soon learn to develop another false façade to protect themselves, until their education has taught them to wear a false front, which was not (at least consciously) intended by their teachers. Education is not rightly to be regarded primarily as a defensive system, by means of which the individual is to be protected against a too-insistent reality. It should be regarded as something more positive, sensitive and expanding than the idea of a shell conveys. Progressive yet balanced, it nourishes the growth of the reality of each individual in regard to, and within the limits of, the 'reality' of his circumstances. A defensive shell, if too effective, is not only a tomb but a bomb.

Education is not necessarily 'good': it may be good or bad. If it is bad, then we are indeed in a bad way, for we may be doing more harm than good in spite of all our efforts to the contrary. Selfish teaching leads to selfishness: aggressiveness creates aggressiveness: unbalanced teaching builds unbalanced minds. Our teaching might be better than it is. How can we make it so?

EDUCERE OR EDUCARE

What does this word 'education' mean, and from what is it derived? Our method has progressed from those bad old days of hectoring pedagogues on pedestals, who saw their task as forcing unwanted knowledge down unwilling throats, with such persuasive methods as could be enhanced by rod or ruler. We do not *push it in* any more, we *pull it out*, so that our leadership is of the more heroic order, 'Come, follow me.' It is no longer administered Prussian fashion, by hearty kicks from behind. This may be rightly claimed as progress, and much may be said for such a method, although it sounds a little sanctimonious. Moreover, we are not all fitted to assume so great a

responsibility. The idea of 'leadership,' however, seems to have drawn some moral justification by a false derivation of the word 'education' from the Latin 'educere.' How can education have come from educere? The 'Follow my leader' method of education can find no support for leadership in the -duc-, because the word from which it is derived is 'educare,' which means 'to nourish.'

We are back to the other idea of *feeding*. As teachers, we are not so much concerned with the higher ranks of leadership, as with putting something nourishing into empty mouths and heads. There is a danger that if we feed them wrongly, they may become 'fed up.' These mouths are hungry and must be fed according to their needs, and here the art of salesmanship comes in to create a demand. But we must make as sure as we can that what we have to supply will meet real needs, not merely create taste and appetite for that which is not bread and does not satisfy. We are not fattening geese for 'foie gras,' but feeding life to hungry open minds. We are shepherds of the flock, to nourish them : or fishermen of souls, dependent upon their appetites and capacity for digestion. It is not for us to give so generously as we might wish, for fear of causing indigestion from our own too great richness. Nor is it for us to have the privilege of leading the band, using our rod to point the way with swing and flourish. The teacher's part is neither on a pedestal nor in the van of progress : it is neither generous nor unselfish : it is not particularly enlightened, nor superiorly gifted with missionary qualifications. The teacher's part is not to give a patronizing pat on the back : it is a job of work like any other job, and the part must be played with an efficiency of its own technique. It is both an art and a discipline, but it should never be a sentimental morality. And surely we must presume that, if we are to be qualified to feed life to others, we must have eaten at least some of it ourselves, besides knowing something about both diet and digestions.

Before we leave this analogy of digestion and indigestion, there are several more points that we may

learn from it. Minds vary more than bodies, and the laws of mental appetite show greater variation and more curious idiosyncrasies than our physical stomachs do. Suitable diet is a matter of due proportion at the right time, erring for health and vigour always upon the side of too little, for too much good food makes us at least heavy, if not actually sick. Small quantities of food must be divided into smaller still by the process of our mind's digesting, if they are to undergo that metamorphosis which is necessary before they can be made our own and used in our own lives. For food to be returned to teacher 'accurately,' and exactly as it was eaten, is a sign of sickness, indicating dietetic indiscretion, and does the recipient no good, except in this easy way of getting rid of it. It should be noted that, although vomiting may be rapid, digestion takes time, and the food gets both lost and changed in the process. Diets change with advancing years, and beefsteak won't fit either a baby's stomach or an ill-fitting denture. Excessive appetite for knowledge shows either greed or some 'parasitic' infection and should always be investigated. So far the analogy of diet does not seem to have been strained, and it contains much excellent advice for teachers of all kinds.

IMITATIVE AND CREATIVE EDUCATION

But does this mean that we must have no place for accurate memory, exact assimilation, or perfect repetition? Is all to be passed through this process of digestion before it can be made our own? There is always a danger of the pendulum swinging from one extreme to the other, and the art of education would be easier than it is if alternatives could be rejected so easily. The fault lies in neglecting those other ways of learning which go to make up the wholeness of our culture. 'Different times, different manners': but we need a word of warning as to what we are likely to leave out, and why.

There is a lot to be said in favour of exact learning, with the swift simplicity and indelible impression of a rubber stamp. The point is, however, that it may be carried to

excess, when originality becomes lost in the efficiency of mass production, and the creative impulse becomes sterilized by continuous parrot-like repetition of someone else's creation, which makes no use of its own creative power. Imitation is good up to a point, but beyond it becomes fatal to the true purpose of education.

Of those things which require to be taught as routine facts, enforcing their own discipline and requiring only imitation or repetition in order to deserve full marks for their accuracy of learning, the formula runs: $A + B + C = A + B + C$. As they go in, so they should be retained, coming out as required from memory's storehouse. There is much of this learned lore to be acquired; words and figures, names and dates, and other people's theories and experiences. The sooner such facts are acquired and memorized the better: they form at least a part of the foundation of learning, and save a great deal of time and trouble.

But that is indeed our concern, for it is not enough that our educational system should run upon lines to save us trouble, as a way of escape. In the policy of 'safety first,' we can soon go too far, running needlessly into danger through too much leaning upon protection. There comes a time in the movement of our growth when it is a good thing to 'leave the rails,' departing from such fixed facts to a greater freedom both of experience and expression. Now the food which we are given, if it is to nourish us must undergo change in our own insides, not being stored indigestibly as memory (which becomes a handicap and not any longer a good thing), but passing through subdivision and metamorphosis, to be used in accordance with our vital needs. Our life is not all to be copybook; it is also to be creative, original, unique. The formula is different, for the educational method has changed from copybook patterns and mere obedience to the creation of new forms, with new ways of self expression.

Education now becomes a living experience, and an art. It requires another manner of approach, and learning must be wooed, or born and bred. The relationship

of teacher and pupil becomes one of parents who share in the act of creation, but, like other parents, they cannot be sure of the result, except that it will not be exactly like either one of them. Therefore this time the formula reads in more surprising fashion : $A + B = C$.

This formula defines a state of differences between teacher and taught, which will sometimes make the master feel that his way should not have been denied. But otherwise how is the pupil to establish his own freedom? Rebellion is too large a word for this necessary vital movement, and the wise master does not strain upon our discipline when we are old enough to essay some experiment. Instead of that, he says : 'Certainly, go and see for yourself : and come back sometime to tell me what you have found.' It does seem to be the breaking of the law, however, to those who are not aware of its necessity, and there are some masters who make us rebels by their too great insistence upon our following their way. To be a rebel is not always a bad thing, but that does not justify the error of too great a dogmatism.

It therefore becomes a very important question : If at some time both these systems are required, and they are different, how should they be combined in practice so that their advantages may be shared? They seem to be opposite : as far apart as dead and living, imitative and creative, and thus uneasy bed-fellows to be mated in due proportion and relationship. The important points to realize are, (1) it is our fears that will lead us to the apparent safety of the imitative method, and (2) it is our egotistic desires that will be advantageously moralized to confirm its use, long after its virtues have become out-worn.

This is the old difficulty in all problems of relationships. We prefer ourselves to be 'absolute,' and find all 'relatives' irksome because they seem to some extent to stand in our way. Dictators are always 'absolute' in the way in which they seek to impose their will, but because of that, and in spite of their apparently simple efficiency, they can never solve the problems of relationship. Nothing in fact can afford thus to deny related factors :

neither consciousness nor conscience, neither teacher nor pupil, neither parent nor child. All are parts of one wholeness and all concerned together in the problem of their relationship. But fear is inclined the more to desire the power of Absolute dictatorship, because it has an uneasy feeling that there is a flaw somewhere, and suspects that it will not last.

Let us grant that education is to teach the facts of life : then are they to be taught absolutely ($A + B + C = A + B + C$) or relatively ($A + B = C$) ? If education is to be alive (a fact of life) it must proceed by the living method, relatively ; matter must be made alive with spirit, if the form and pattern of our lives are to possess the living fire. There can be neither life nor spirit in the world of absolutes. It is in their relationships that they both live and move, creating children out of their unseen communion.

Let us be as die-hard as we can in our insatiable pursuit of the hardest facts of things-as-they-are. There is this fact and there is that fact : A and B. But that is not two facts, it is three, unless you would leave out the fact of 'and,' which expresses the meaning of conjunction. To learn the meaning of this 'and' is to learn most of life, for it is the medium of organization. It is the central problem of society (you *and* me), of religion (body *and* spirit), of birth (male *and* female), of science (this *and* that). 'World without *and*' is a world of meaningless absolutes ; not a 'world without end,' but dead and finished. So is Education if it leaves out that central factor of conjunction. To leave it out for our advantage, for simplicity or safety, or because it ought not to be there, is going to lead us so far from truth as to endanger not only our reason but also our existence.

Where the significance of the word '*and*' is appreciated, all the different aspects of education become related to the needs of wholeness, whether that of the whole child, the whole community, or the whole brotherhood of mankind. There is something in the word '*and*' with which to solve the problems of sex, because it teaches

relationships as a first principle, and isolation as an impossibility. Sex organs are organs of relationship, and the present is related to the future. Both the act of creation and the process of growth are products of relationship, and not the property of dictatorial egotists. With 'and' as our first principle, even Religion occurs naturally in the curriculum, without having to be fetched in on Sunday morning as 'Divine Service,' or on Monday afternoon as a subject called 'Divinity.' Religion is there in principle as soon as knowledge is linked with ignorance, light with darkness, seen with unseen, matter with spirit, if both are given due proportion and respect. Then we can start to teach religion as we may deem wise, but it will be the easier because in spirit it is there already.

A curriculum can come to life as a coherent whole only if its various parts are vitally interconnected with one another, for relationship is life. This is a matter of basic method, through inclusion of the idea of 'and': not this *or* that; but this *and* that. Not absolute, but relative. The greatest need of education at the present time, as indeed always, is to turn 'or' into 'and.' Then both people and nations may live in peace instead of war. There is this difference between the policy of 'You or me' and 'You and me,' that we shall either fight or mate, as we belong to the meaning of one word or the other. The responsibility of education is great in this matter, because the opportunity for the formation of our first habits is the most fleeting of all opportunities.

A DIFFERENCE IN METHOD

For the sake of simplicity, and in order to have words for our better understanding, let us call the absolute or unrelated method of education 'imitative' and the relative method 'creative.' We shall discover later that this analysis is not meant to convey a moral distinction between 'bad' and 'good,' because both are necessary, each in its proper way and time. Both these two methods of teaching are respectable parents, required to co-operate

in the development of the whole and healthy child of education.

In our separation of them in this analysis, however, we shall find that what is good for one may be bad for the other, for they are opposites, as male and female, like other parents. The first great distinction between them is in regard to purpose, for imitative education seeks only the best, where all else or less is a bad thing to be avoided if possible and urgently eliminated when found. The path according to this method is ever upward and onward: 'good, better, best, never let it rest.' But there is a bad demon in the way. Sometimes he blocks the path as 'laziness,' sometimes he leads us astray as a 'bad mistake,' and sometimes he causes us so far to leave the path of virtue as to engage in the pursuit of wild heresy. Whatever form this demon takes, our good St. George must smite his dragon hip and thigh, until he is rid of it for ever, and good has conquered evil. 'You or me,' he says, and feels his very life depends upon the instant exorcism of all his evil enemies. Punishment is therefore eliminative, the laggards are encouraged by some form of unpleasant persuasion and the criminals are capitally taught their lessons until they mend the error of their ways. Down with ignorance, up with knowledge: follow my leader and all will be well!

Our leader in this imitative sense is not regarding knowledge as food for fattening geese, to be rammed into unwilling throats. Oh no, he is far more enlightened in his own estimation than that. The enthusiasm is voluntary and the leadership is democratic: 'Come follow me!' says the carrot in front of the donkey's nose, and the donkey glibly follows, as donkeys do—or do not, as the case may be.

But notice the quality of this relationship: 'Knowledge is good, and ignorance is bad: I have knowledge and you have not: come, follow me. Take this good thing now and abandon that bad thing for ever.' There is a great air of responsibility about this procedure: it weighs a heavy burden upon tired and ill-paid shoulders, but the reward

in self-approval seems almost to make it worth the labour. It is made harder, however, by the inertia of irresponsibility with which it is met: the donkey tires and digs his feet in obstinately, looking the while perhaps for unsalutary thistles with which to satisfy his baser appetites. Responsibility on the one hand seems to encourage irresponsibility on the other, where the subtler sensitiveness of true responsiveness is missing.

In unrelated fashion, the curriculum of imitative education is divided into subjects, packed tightly together with little time for idleness to breathe. (Space is a bad thing, for who knows what evil might enter it?) Therefore subjects are things by themselves, to be assimilated piecemeal, and placed for safe keeping in the strong-room in memory's storehouse. (But how difficult to remember, how easy to forget!) Marks are for accuracy of reproduction. 'Here it all is, just as you gave it to me!' Well, what could be better than that? Full marks are generously awarded, according to the equation of accuracy:— $A + B + C = A + B + C$. Nothing has changed, and the good pupil has not moved anything during the good teacher's absence. He deserves to be at the top of his class.

The direct method is that of the rubber stamp ('take that!') for follow my leader ('come over here!'): and pedagogues on pedestals dispense their praise or blame, rewards or punishments, for exactness of repetition. Originality or even wonder might lead to difference of opinion and of course such a mistake would be a bad thing. Questions are idle, especially if continued: but answers are good, especially if correct.

The system works well only as far as it can be fixed: all antagonism or difference of opinion requires repression, in order to preserve the *status quo* of the established order. Signs of life seem evidence of sin: and pious hope suggests that sex may be sublimated through sufficient exercise of any other kind. If this method is successful, sex is sufficiently subdued either to be entirely repressed, or else to exist undiscovered owing to its persistence in some hole

and corner practice 'absolute' alone. If it should be unfortunately discovered through becoming unduly 'relative', then it is dismissed out of hand, moral disapproval showing its absolute power by arbitrary punishment or immediate expulsion.

The picture is intentionally one-sided for analytic purposes. Schools are mixed, like life, but are still found to lean either to one side or the other, if not in all things at least in some. Our sense of citizenship cannot be adequately trained by an educational method that has not yet fully appreciated the truth of relativity. Sex is still regarded as a hidden nuisance, to be dealt with directly either by 'knowledge' or punishment, or indirectly by evasion: and the tragedy of religion as commonly taught is that it still remains a travesty of fact.

Now let us consider the other half of our analysis, and compare the two extremes. The purpose of creative education is not moral (best) but realistic (the wholeness).

First and foremost there are no 'bad things' or 'bad children' for creative educators. We see facts, not faults, expecting differences both of age and opinion, and anticipating a share of error. The 'and' is always implied and realized as the living link of love's yoke: 'You *and* me, although different and related.' The policy of this system is not 'or,' but 'and': and the opposite number to ourselves is allowed the rank and title of 'beloved enemy.' Thus teacher and taught are not so separated by time and distance, as high or low, wise or foolish. They are on the same side of the plate at the feast of life: 'We have not, you and I: so let us see what we can see and do together.' The attitude of such a teacher may imply: 'Ignorance surrounds us both and knowledge is an adventure. We have a little light, but darkness is not bad, for the larger part with which we are related must always remain beyond our range of sight. Ignorance is food, never to be despised: and remembered knowledge is often the foreign body of our indigestion, weakening appetite as it prejudices opinion. So let us travel light, and eat our portion, Now.'

The curriculum may cover the same subjects, but they are no longer unrelated objects. Life is a story told to us in many languages, each of which is a different expression of experience: but the facts of the story are the same for those who can run to read between the moving lines. The teacher must have a gift of tongues, from experience of an inner vision of life's unity, expressed as it must always be through many various forms, and amidst the apparent conflict of related opposites. It is forgotten nowadays that mathematics was once a philosophy, but it may again reach to that high estate of learning, when the full possibility of 'X = the unknown' is realized, implying the language of religion as well as of romance. Geography and history are simple enough examples of a written tongue, a living language of the movement of things and people, different descriptive techniques of the way of life. This is all language, and we well may wonder what it means. What is the answer? Higher marks may be awarded for so moving a question, but it is its own reward: it matters not that we do not know, for the wonder alone is actively worth while, if we do but get on with our observant study.

One day perhaps language itself will come to life again, as it has done before. The era of modern education may have sown much good seed, but the flowering is not yet. There have been great ones with the tongue and pen, but were they taught their Art, or did it grow, provoked by their experience? The great ones live, but are not taught to be alive, for so much never can be taught directly. A living style of life or language cannot be taught by the direct method of imitating rubber stamps, however beautifully the die may be cut. Life comes indirectly, of parentage according to this formula, $A + B = C$. Thus the living organism is the unknown child of known parents: the parents are teacher and taught, but who knows what the unseen outcome of this union may be? Creation is living, but imitation is dead repetition of the dead.

Yet language is alive: and so it might be taught, one word in relationship with another. Language is an

epitome of national experience, grown and growing through the movement of a nation's inner history. Grammar is not enough unless it is made to live. Even logic is alive, though so often treated and taught as though it were dead, for the 'Logos' is both form and spirit. Each word is an incarnation of warm meaning, alive, breathing and changing in the flux of time. There is a law of words' relationships, a living law. The psychology of nations may be read within their words and grammar: but the psychology of teachers may also be read from the way in which the study of living language is sometimes sadly taught. Language is the means of extension of our understanding and is magic in our lives. It is not what we have of knowledge in the end that counts, but what we are that measures gain. There is much that we can learn from logic for our reason's discipline: from tenses for our deeper sense of time, and from grammar for understanding the relationships of subject and object. There is a lot in common between good manners and good grammar.

Relationship sometimes seems punitive; it is the price we pay for its creative privilege. Teacher must be disciplined alike with taught, and both be punished too, for the purpose of that unseen growth which is our reaction to distress in the movement of time. 'I am not you': by that frustration we all may hope to grow. The negative of pain is not for punishment in dismissive or destructive sense: it is for growth, reaction, change. It is not that fear of punishment may ensure more correct imitation in the future, but for the sake of more life and movement, in obedience to the dual law of related self and circumstance. Only from our mistakes can learning come, and correct answers are not therefore always so simply good. Only from pain can we learn a wiser way: and so it is wiser that our care should not be to avoid pain, but to digest its added nourishment for our wider growth in time.

TIME

Although we need not claim to be philosophers in any special sense, there is for all of us a most subtle

and inescapable link between 'Time' and 'Relativity.' Inescapable that is, in fact: but as we are privileged to live so greatly in our fancy, it is by that dubious dexterity unfortunately more easily avoided. Time is the bugbear of impatient egotism: 'I want it *now*!' Time is frustration, punitive: 'No, you cannot!' It is a source of grave anxiety, for what evil from the darkness of uncertainty may not come suddenly to fill its space? Fixation 'now' is the remedy of all anxious egotists in fearful flight from fact. Their sense of time, fitness and true measure, their responsiveness to the moving accuracy of events, is lost in heroic effort to hold fast to something good, lest perchance evil may unfortunately ensue.

'You or me,' dictators say. Then my time is yours, and yours is mine; but not politely, for you ought to agree with me, and I with you, as one. Although their efforts to control the tide of our affairs may seem more successful than those of Canute, yet time in truth is a function of relationship. There must be two moving together, as earth and sun, to make Time to exist at all. There can be no place for Time under an autocracy, and history has no meaning until the past persuades the present to come within the law of relationship once more. Then it may well be a time of trouble, as the balance becomes true.

Imitative education has small respect for Time or history, or indeed for any fact, in spite of impatient insistence to the contrary. You cannot teach fact except in time, which is in relationship: for time is of the essence of this contract, being basic fact. Life is relationship, indirect child of parents, changing, moving, growing—always in time. But imitative education, by isolating any 'fact' and rubber-stamping it, must paradoxically lose it. It has become a morbid fancy by losing relativity and life. Time is a law which only human free-will strives insistently to break. Slowly, life itself is creative in time (growth, culture); but we must insist upon patting ourselves on the back for our graceless impatience. Yet fitting time is the very art of grace, the culminating

keystone of good manners, and the test of obedience to discipline and law. Time is not clocks : it is relationship, and all of us are born to face the fact of time as well as space.

To realize the fact of Time is to make 'now' a fact for living. So few of us can live NOW : for most of us are either grasping at the goal of future purpose in order to give some point and purpose to our living, or else we are immersed in memory and the values of past prejudice. Yet, strangely, life is always Now, from which the fancy of our freedom seems so anxious to escape. 'I am' : this is so great a statement that it is beyond our understanding. 'I am that I am' : this is the definition of God, Absolute in the eternal Now, limited only by itself, without relationship. 'I am—now !' This is the matter of our fact, relative in time and space, suspended between past and future, this and that. Young life says : 'Please teacher could you let me Be—so that I can BECOME, through our relationship and my creative growth, MY SELF ?'

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That may seem a foolish point at which to end. But it is not an end, it is only a beginning. The teacher may have an end in view, but teaching can never end, nor learning either, if the aim is wholeness.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

A STUDY IN EVOLUTION

By G. B. SMITH

I

THE DIFFICULTY OF stating in summary form the part which the Public Schools play to-day in the system of English education arises from the fact that at the moment they are actually in a state of evolutionary transition. Like many other institutions they are busy adapting themselves to changed environment, each experimenting on lines of its own. No two have reached the same stage in the process and there is no certainty of the form which the ultimately surviving type will assume.

That in the past they should have been strongholds of entrenched tradition is no more than natural. Many of them are actually Cathedral or Grammar Schools, dating from a time when, under the influence of the Renaissance humanists, men supposed that all knowledge existed in its most perfect imaginable form in the writings of the Greeks and Romans of the classical age, and that the study of these was therefore the primary necessity of all education. In accordance with this tradition, from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth, higher education was held to consist of Greek and Latin, with here and there a little formal mathematics. These were the only subjects of instruction in the schools, all others being ignored, or at least regarded as wholly subordinate.

At its best, this traditional training had taught men to think with wonderful rapidity and clarity. Bringing them into the closest contact with the noblest intellects and the most influential men of action that the world had known, it had provided an admirable school of philosophy and of national and imperial statesmanship. On the other hand,

by the middle of the nineteenth century, though the form of this classical training remained, the soul had for the most part departed from it. As far as the schools were concerned, concentration on the content of the works in use had almost entirely been superseded by the study of the minutiae of grammar, idiom, and tricks of style, the whole leading up to Greek and Latin composition. Even the choice of works to be read had been narrowed down to those that were useful for this purpose. To expect the average English boy to enter heartily into the study of subjects so difficult to relate with the current of life about them was to invite failure. Remote from the needs of an age in which science and machinery were revolutionizing human life and all intelligent thought, the narrow linguistic training was regarded by most boys upon whom it was imposed as an irksome grind to be got through with the least possible expenditure of energy. The attempt to enforce it, far from instilling the Greek attitude towards life, had the disastrous effect of drilling them into a positive aversion from any sort of intellectual curiosity. From ten years of the classical grind most boys took away nothing permanent but a defensive armour against all inspiration, æsthetic or literary, and a habit of mind derived from the ingenious system of cribbing, cheating and lying by which they frustrated the efforts of their masters to teach them. The traditional classical training produced, and still produces, a few fine intellects, but for the vast majority, intellectually unfit to profit by it, it was a dismal travesty of education. The atmosphere of inarticulate hostility in which it was conducted, an unconscious reaction against its futility, brought the very idea of higher education into public contempt, where it long remained. The attempt to keep education wholly separate from the main currents of contemporary life could have no other result.

The schools inherited other traditions besides their curriculum. Brutal ill-treatment had been the usual lot of children in the later Middle Age. 'Qui parcit virgae odit filium suum,' and schoolmasters were not harsher than the majority of parents. The rod or birch was the

invariable symbol of their efforts, and since between master and boy unrelenting hostility, a resultant of the futility of their life, was the normal rule, the tradition of applying it ruthlessly for offences of any and every kind persisted well into the nineteenth century. It is not easy to decide which presents the more distasteful picture, the Sadism of the headmaster of a well-known school in 1840 who flogged his dozen victims daily, or the brutality of outlook which such treatment made normal in his boys.

Conditions of life, both in the schools with famous names and in the host of minor establishments, were invariably hard. The traditional assumption was that it was natural for boys to live in squalid quarters, that it was good for their souls that their bodies should be perpetually chilly and half-starved, and that amenities would be not only wasted but corruptive. Outside the schoolroom the boys' life was their own. There were no organized games, nor any provision for occupying their leisure. By day, uncontrolled and quite undisciplined, they roamed the countryside and landed themselves in just such mischief or disaster, physical and moral, as their tastes dictated. By night they were herded into locked dormitories, where control was in the hands of those who were physically powerful or otherwise gifted enough to seize it. What occurred there was no one's business. The young and the ineffective generally were fair game for all. Violent mutinies were frequent. The last recorded instance was in 1884, though this did not require troops to suppress it as did one outbreak in 1818.

Such were the traditions with which the evolutionary process had to contend. The system was doubtless hardening. For the few it provided the basis of a deep if narrow culture and an intensive training in practical politics. It bred in them physical endurance and leadership of a barbarian type, developing powers of command, and of self-command, to an extent unequalled in any other system. For the mass, however, it meant at best the crushing out of individuality, and at worst a continuous

and brutal process of physical and moral outrage. The fundamental problem of reformers ever since has been to find means of educating the mass without wholly discarding the benefits which the traditional system bestowed upon the few.

II

The second quarter of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of a reforming campaign, inaugurated by Arncliffe of Rugby, and carried on by such men as Pears of Repton and Thring of Uppingham. There is no school in England but has in some respects put its house in order. No two have reached the same point in the evolutionary path, and no two are alike. Some appear to be stopped dead in their tracks and others to have in part retraced their steps. In every one of the old schools, as in most English institutions, there remain vestigial traces of their ancestral development, customs sometimes merely quaint but sometimes repulsive, irrational traditions, anomalies and throwbacks. Many new schools were founded during the nineteenth century, but though from the start in this or that respect they avoided some of the evils of the old tradition, they came into existence before the need for root and branch reform was sufficiently realized. Whatever the ideals of their founders, most of them soon relapsed into the normal harsh routine. In 1850 the boys of one of them branded a child of nine with red hot irons. Moreover the nineteenth century foundations have on the whole responded even more timidly than the old schools to the more recent demands for reform. It is in some of them to-day that we find entrenched traditions in their most rigid form. The greater their need to prove themselves Public Schools and to avoid being thought peculiar, the more jealously did they guard the tradition which they had taken over.

The reformers made a valuable start. Considering the antiquity of the tradition and the strength of the vested interests which they attacked they made good progress. Their campaign, conducted in the usual English manner,

was, however, one of tinkering rather than of revolution. Though men of the highest ideals, they were themselves in every case the successful products of the traditional system and quite out of touch with the needs of the average boy. They hardly grasped the nature of the problem which faced them and had no notion of the far-reaching changes which its solution would require. Arnold himself indeed preached that the schools must be adapted to the needs of every individual boy, for each had something to contribute to the general store. It may be doubted, however, whether his view included other individuals than those who reached the Sixth Form. Nor would the reformers have been supported from outside if they had proposed wide changes. Until quite late in the century the Public Schools were patronized almost exclusively by the classes which had themselves been brought up in them. What was good enough for the fathers was good enough for the sons. For the most part the fathers had been given no intellectual training worth the name nor any appreciation of the need for it, and the great majority of the members of governing bodies were like-minded. There was therefore not only little demand for reform beyond some improvement in the feeding and some precaution against the more flagrant forms of physical bullying, but angry opposition even to the suggestion of it. The reformers had to walk warily, for if a headmaster advanced far beyond current parental opinion he was branded as a faddist and risked emptying his school.

Beyond the idealism of a few headmasters there was little motive to attempt rapid change. Towards the end of the century, moreover, what incentive had existed was itself damped down. The local day-schools to which the lesser professional and business men had hitherto sent their sons were gradually opened to 'free-placers' from the state or state-aided elementary schools. To save their boys from contact with these new-comers, middle-class parents in rapidly increasing numbers began to send their boys to boarding schools. Before long to have attended a day-school, one only excepted, became a badge of social

inferiority and a serious handicap in professional life. Existing boarding schools were quickly filled to capacity. To wear the tie of one of these and to have acquired the code of behaviour current in it, however intrinsically undesirable, was found to bestow the right of entry into a certain social caste. Boarding schools were accepted as they stood by the middle class without question. It was only later that doubts began to arise. For the time being the shortcomings of the schools, the physical hardships, and the false sense of values which they inculcated, if suspected at all, were taken to be a necessary part of a mystical process known as hardening, or else to be the price payable for admission to the ranks of the socially elect. At any rate the first result of the 'boom' in boarding schools was to slacken the rate of reform. It eliminated competition between the schools. For the most part it diverted the attention of headmasters and governing bodies from reform to expansion. It drew away many thousands of boys from daily contact with culture in their homes, in which from the age of 10 they now became mere visitors, and subjected them to the tradition in which intellectual open-mindedness and culture were objects of derision and which in the meantime had been further debased by the exaggerated cult of athleticism. Ultimately, of course, the new type of parent began to demand changes, not always in the right direction, but little enough attention was paid to his wishes until the 'boom' showed signs of slackening, and that is a matter of recent history.

Meanwhile the Classics remained the staple training of all boys between the ages of 10 and 19. As a result of the pressure of numbers, the care of boys under the age of 13 was taken over by 'preparatory' boarding schools, which had sprung up as feeders of the senior schools, but in these the curriculum was determined by the imposition of Latin as a compulsory, and sometimes competitive, subject for admission to the latter, and by the award of scholarships almost exclusively on a basis of Latin and Greek. Throughout the system the method of teaching the classical languages still kept composition as its

main objective, the study of Greek thought and life, of politics and philosophy, of Greek plays as drama or of Latin poetry as literature, being reserved for the small minority who were to continue their classical studies at Oxford or Cambridge. Attempts to vary the curriculum by gradually introducing other subjects did little to improve matters. The time spent on Latin and Greek was hortened, with the result that even fewer boys than before got through the dismal grammar-grind to the stage of acquiring any intellectual pleasure or advantage from their studies. The hours allotted to the new subjects were so few as to preclude the possibility of their being taken very seriously either by masters or boys, and even where they were, the main issue was a complete congestion of the puerile mind.

III

The efforts of the reformers to devise a satisfactory modern curriculum have in fact been impeded by at least four obstacles in turn. In the first place few headmasters until quite recently have been willing to dig to the roots of the problem. The standard curriculum, inherited from the past, had been based on the requirements of the really able boy, the potential university scholar, and on the assumption that his school career was to be followed by further classical studies at a university. Such boys profit immensely from a training on traditional lines. The accuracy and clarity of thought which they acquire puts them in the way of getting their real education later on. To them their schoolwork is a mere foundation. Their quickness of mind enables them to avoid any fatal degree of boredom, for they see the end towards which they are progressing, and with that end in view they accept the long training in groundwork, however unfruitful in itself. Even if in later stages they abandon the classics for other studies, their education does not constitute the essence of the problem. It is a comparatively simple matter, to whatever subjects they are set.

On the other hand, those whose slower mentality precludes them from ever being classical scholars, if

kept throughout their school life at the same laborious grind, never see the end at all. Their efforts, so to speak, are never capitalized. They react against the apparent purposelessness of the whole educational machine and are kept at work only by relentless pressure. They suffer in character from the ignominy of being constantly taught in classes composed of younger but abler boys. Accuracy, a function of the adult mind, not of the adolescent, naturally eludes them. The futile pursuit of it with any but precocious boys merely impedes progress and stifles natural curiosity in boredom. What does it matter if the small boy gets his sums wrong so long as he knows the principles involved? It is the ideas that matter and that interest him. To hold him back from new ones is to ossify his mind.

If boys of this type, after a training on the lines devised for the quick-witted, go on to a university, they do so in a state of inarticulate revolt, convinced that for them education has no meaning. When they get there, the pressure is suddenly released, and, having been assiduously taught to hate all bookish learning, they too often abandon intellectual effort altogether, whatever they may gain in character from their new freedom. A partial remedy lies in basing the later stages of their work at school entirely upon the interests and aptitudes which they have developed earlier. If they have developed none, it is surely the fault of the school. If classical studies are to be retained at all in the curriculum of such boys, means must be found to humanize the methods of approach to these studies at a far earlier age. Right from the beginning, even in the preparatory schools, the aim constantly kept in view should be the rapid reading of the authors studied, not composition. The emphasis should be laid on the content rather than on the form. The authors should be chosen more for the interest of their subject-matter than for their style. Grammar should be limited to that which is necessary for translation into English, composition being postponed to a later stage. The pursuit of accuracy, here as in all other subjects, must be firmly

subordinated to that of ideas. It may safely be left to come of itself, as the adolescent's mind matures.

^{new} An allied difficulty, only recently faced arises from the needs of boys, numerous in these days, whose academic education is to cease when they leave school. Their requirements, both in matters of method and in some degree of curriculum, are not those of boys whose school-work is merely preparatory for a university career. For them the superstructure must be provided as well as the foundation. It is surely fair to ask that they should not be sent into the world without at least a year's training designed to equip them for mixing in the current of modern life. It might include an introduction to biological and physical principles, and to modern political thought, based preferably on the study of general European history. It should certainly aim at giving them facility in speaking at least two European languages. In short, the training of the average boy, whether or no a university career is in view, must be consciously directed to quite other purposes and conducted by quite other methods than those which suit the potential scholar. No compromises or modifications of the traditional methods and curriculum will meet the needs of both. The two categories must be separated at a much earlier stage than in the past, and until some such solution of the basic problem has been generally adopted, it is useless to expect fair treatment for the average boy or to expect that he will profit from his work, whether in new subjects or old. No boy can fully respond to the demands made upon him unless, consciously or unconsciously, he knows that his work is suited to his capacity and his needs.

Secondly, during the experimental stage the success of the new subjects which had been introduced into the curriculum was seriously handicapped by the difficulty of finding suitable masters to teach them. There was a steady supply of men well qualified in the classics, but to teach modern languages, history or the natural sciences, physics, chemistry and above all biology, headmasters had at first to choose between classically trained masters

who had acquired some smattering of the new subjects, mathematicians whose habits of mind were purely theoretical, and men who knew their subjects but were not of the same social class as their pupils. There were of course exceptions, but in general the former types taught the new subjects without enthusiasm, while to employ the latter was disastrous, both to discipline and to the repute of the subjects. The Public School boy could not imagine that he was expected to accept foreigners or the product of day-schools as serious schoolmasters. Both they and their subjects were openly derided. Thus many a headmaster has been able to excuse his insistence on compulsory classics by the unassailable argument that it is better to have a bad subject taught by a good master than to see good subjects ruined by unsuitable teachers.

Science taught under these conditions was a travesty of the subject as a serious means to education. Such branches of it as overlapped with mathematics were treated, as algebra and geometry had always been treated, as theoretical subjects quite detached from reality. As for laboratory work, where any existed, it was usually conducted amid scenes of disorder which made serious work, except for a few, impossible. History in the hands of unqualified teachers meant the history of England detached from its context and treated as a subject wholly dead. No attempt was made either to relate it with current events or to show it in its proper perspective against a European background. It was limited to a narrative of political, constitutional and military events, and the study of it consisted for the most part of memorizing the contents of arid textbooks themselves packed with an imposing array of facts tendentiously selected from the works of propagandist Protestant and Whig historians. Of history as a science, as a romance or as a training in the sequence of cause and effect, the boy learnt nothing. If he acquired anything from the subject it was the narrow prejudice, not the fault of the teachers, with which it was presented. Geography also was a matter of memorising selected facts, this time contained in lists of towns and

counties, capes and bays, products and population. Of the subject as a study of human conditions in their physical and biological environment there was no more conception than of history as man's record through time. What was called English Literature consisted in reading the acknowledged masterpieces of the language, which, from the very fact that they were masterpieces and therefore only to be appreciated by mature minds, were altogether beyond the mental capacity of ordinary adolescents. The attempt to make them intelligible involved the boys in memorizing more pages of explanatory notes than there were of text. The invariable results was that the works were read intolerably slowly and that any interest which might otherwise have been taken in them quickly evaporated. Here a few able boys profited, and took away with them something that was of lasting value. The rest learned only to abhor the names of Shakespeare and Milton. Where modern European languages were seriously taught, the method used was based on the traditional technique of teaching the dead languages, a grammar-grind leading up to prose composition. Only in very recent years has there been an adequate supply of suitable masters who are qualified to teach French and German as spoken languages. Even to-day it would be difficult to find a dozen preparatory schools which have any such men on their staffs. Yet until modern languages are taught from the earliest stages by conversational methods there will be no possibility of making them living subjects.

In the course of time, as a supply of teachers qualified in the new subjects began to appear, most schools emerged in some respects from these abysmal conditions, though even to-day the intellectual calibre of the men teaching modern subjects in most of the Public Schools is in general below that of the classical masters. The improvement in this respect was, however, neutralized by the prevailing uncertainty of the purpose which the new subjects were to serve. Were they introduced because they supplied 'useful' knowledge, because they were likely to evoke intellectual interest, because they were

a means of inculcating new habits of mind, or as eyewash for awkward parents? The uncertainty immensely delayed, and still delays, the development of the technique necessary to handle them successfully, and as the attempt was made to serve all four purposes at once, the results at first served none. As under the old classical training, a few able boys laid good foundations for subsequent university work, particularly in the natural sciences, but the rank and file derived little more profit from the new subjects than from the old.

One change, moreover, was for the worse, and the evil results of this are everywhere visible to-day. The 'modern subjects' were welcomed by many ignorant or short-sighted parents as being directly utilitarian. They were 'useful,' and should be treated as such. To demands of this kind the teachers began to pander. From the old detachment from reality they plunged to the other extreme. Under pressure from outside, the question of whether and how a boy should learn French and German began to be determined on considerations of their usefulness to him in commercial life. Boys of fifteen were set down to courses of physics designed to serve the purposes of engineering. The methods of approach to biology were not those which lead a boy to the understanding of his environment, but those dictated by the faculties of medicine. Science in general fell under the domination of external technical examinations, for which the schools were expected to prepare their pupils. The bulk of knowledge demanded was so vast that no properly educative method of teaching could possibly cope with it. The schools were driven into cramming facts. The teaching of science inevitably degenerated into a process of dogmatically dictating physical and chemical formulæ, and then cooking experiments to make them produce the predestined results. It was a strange way to inculcate the principles of observation and deductive reasoning. For any training in these things boys have had to wait until quite recent years. As late as 1928 an able boy at the end of four years of bad science teaching in a Public School remarked that the only reasoning recognizable as scientific

which he had encountered during his school career was in the Scripture hours conducted by a modernist parson. The able boy sees through the obscurantist dogmatism to the principles beyond. The average boy does not. It is nothing less than pathetic when the word education is used to cover methods appropriate only to forcible feeding.

Moreover, narrow utilitarianism of this kind defeats its own ends. All the directly 'useful' scientific knowledge which is injected by such methods can much better be acquired in a term from a few text-books at the age of eighteen by any boy whose interest has not been dulled and whose mind has previously been trained to be properly receptive. The practice of forcing technical knowledge into boys at an early stage in their mental development may enable them to pass examinations of a certain type earlier than they otherwise could do so, but it fatally narrows their outlook and destroys the very qualities of mind which the schools should make it their business to develop. Robbing potential leaders in industry, in medicine and other scientific professions of their open-mindedness, it reduces them to the status of technicians. Even the world of industry recognizes this in its practice. The market value of mere knowledge, as someone has remarked, is roughly half a crown an hour. It cannot be too strongly urged that the primary functions of the schools which we are considering, in the class-room as well as out of it, are the awakening of intellectual curiosity and the building up of habits of mind. The acquisition of knowledge is an altogether secondary affair, and, at any rate until the very latest stages of a boy's time at school, should be eschewed wherever it interferes with the main purpose for which the schools exist. After all, what man of thirty remembers any of the facts so painfully memorized at school, beyond perhaps a few stray curiosities? Permanent habits of mind he may have acquired, some perhaps that his teachers intended and many that they did not; but not knowledge.

Above all, just as the reformers had begun to realize the fundamental nature of their problems and were feeling

their way towards a curriculum suited to the needs of the average boy whose formal education would end with his school career, the evolutionary process was threatened with a new obstruction. The whole system was all but fossilized where it stood by the increasingly dominating position which written public examinations were being allowed to assume. University Scholarship examinations, conducted on traditional lines, fairly tested the able boy, and it was reasonable that the universities should have the right to insist on minimum standards in their entrance examinations, though here too intelligence and interest should be tested rather than knowledge. To inflict external examinations upon the schools themselves was quite another matter. The effect exerted upon the education of the rank and file by such tests as the School Certificate Examinations was, and continues to be, disastrous. Adopted by the schools in the first instance as a means of obtaining entrance to the universities, they have since been imposed by most professional bodies, and even by business firms, as qualifying for admission or employment, and have therefore in effect become compulsory. Set for the most part by men of high intellectual qualifications who are wholly out of sympathy with the needs and interests of adolescents, their main result has been to discourage experiment, and therefore evolution, by limiting the discretion of the teacher in the choice of subject and by prohibiting flexibility of method. They restrict the curriculum to subjects, and confine the teachers to methods of handling them, which are easily examinable. Imposed on all boys, whether proceeding to universities or not, they almost wholly ignore the requirements of those whose education ends with their school life, and have forced the schools to concentrate upon what are in fact the preliminaries of a university course at the expense of what is needed to fit boys directly for their lives in the world. Their original purpose forgotten, they have come to be regarded not only by employers but by the parents and the schools themselves as proper tests of efficient teaching, industry and ability. Yet even for this purpose they are grossly fallacious, for although it is true that no

thoroughly inefficient teacher can obtain good results, second-rate teachers can and do score heavily in written examination results over the first-rate, and in any case neither the ability nor the industry of the ordinary boy is fairly represented by his capacity to reproduce in writing what he has learnt.

By gradually bringing the curriculum into relation with the current of modern thought and with the needs of adolescent mentality, it might have been possible so to remodel the schools as to make them the cultural centres of the future. For a small minority they have always been so, and they are to-day. Those who are able enough to put the examination bugbear and the grammar-grind quickly behind them find, both in the traditional studies and in their modern substitutes, full opportunity for interest and self-development. To them, in many schools to-day, history, the study of man and his environment, is taught as the basis of world politics and economics, and from it they reach out to the study of religion, art and literature. Science for them becomes a liberal training in observation and deductive reasoning as well as a means of understanding our physical and biological environment. European languages, taught in close conjunction with history and as living instruments of thought, become an avenue of approach to other cultures than our own. All this, however, is at present for the few. The remainder are thrust through an examination which was intended as preliminary test for able boys, but which has become a final trial for the mass. The struggle with it absorbs the greater part if not the whole of their school career. Its result upon them has been to make interest in learning for its own sake almost an impossibility. It has firmly rooted the youth of England in the idea that the sole aim of education is to obtain a School Certificate. With that idea they enter the Public Schools and with it they leave them. As long as it flourishes, it is a matter of minor consequence what subjects are or are not taught. The schools will not become educational instruments until in them, as in the government elementary schools, the era of compulsory examinations upon a compulsory

syllabus has been replaced by one of intelligence tests supplemented by regular inspection by educational experts.

Once that has been done, the evolutionary process will be resumed. We shall eradicate the fundamental antipathy which exists between the majority of boys and their education by freeing them from the incubus of an academic and technical programme which it is beyond their capacity to master. The brilliant success with which a few schools, as far as they dare, are to-day developing on a new curriculum based on the needs of the average boy gives promise of an education which in time will supply the nation with an educated middle class, awake to ideas and with some notion how to use their leisure intelligently, a generation which will look back to its schooldays with more pride and satisfaction than any but scholars can to-day.

IV

The problem of recreation is as far from final solution as that of curriculum. As early as the middle of the nineteenth century it had been discovered that by providing playing fields and by herding boys into games of cricket and football it was possible to keep them under closer observation than before and to provide an outlet for their superfluous physical energy. The next stage was to make these games compulsory and to see to it that as far as possible the whole time not actually spent in classrooms should be taken up by them. It was an easy way of keeping the idle out of mischief. Then came the revolutionary discovery, a kind of afterthought, that in organized games it was possible to develop and train that valuable quality of character to which has since been given the name of Team Spirit. Games at once became something more than a means of keeping boys occupied. Used purposefully in developing the capacity for co-operation they could be made to play a direct and important part in education. From the moment their value was realized, the whole nature of school life began to change. An ever increasing emphasis was laid on organized

games. The schools excused their failure to educate the rank and file by means of the curriculum, and for a time ceased even in theory to be centres of culture for any but the few. Before long the change was being officially defended on the ground that in the new pursuits the boys acquired definite and valuable ideals of conduct and character. Up to a point the defence was sound, but the exaggerated cult of games certainly pushed questions of curriculum and culture into the background. The new enthusiasms, moreover, led to evils almost as dangerous as the old neglect. To stimulate general interest, inter-school matches were arranged. Schools began to be judged primarily by their games successes and boys by their athletic prowess, with the natural result that games were played no longer for their own sake, but in order at all costs to win, a spirit as assiduously cultivated by masters who had the interests of the school at heart as by the boys. Their organization within the school was arranged not for the benefit, physical or mental, of the mass, but primarily with a view to the selection and training of present and future school representatives. Professional coaches were secured and masters appointed largely if not principally for their distinction as games-players. To secure promising athletes, preparatory schools were assiduously canvassed, not actually by headmasters, but by their responsible assistants and sometimes with their knowledge. Boys who showed no aptitude were still kept occupied by being herded into compulsory athleticism, but whatever their other qualities they were held up to contempt by other boys and even by masters as useless deadweights.

The new system may to some degree have cultivated the capacity for co-operation. It certainly prepared boys for their life in the world by training them in endurance, in the suppression of the emotions of fear and elation, and in the art of taking hard knocks for the sake of a cause. In transferring the emphasis from the training of intellect to the development of character it brought valuable influences to bear on a class of boys whose physical energy had hitherto been a mere source of

mischievous and temptation, and whose school life had at best been wasted. Yet it also inculcated a wholly false set of values. It turned games, between schools and between houses, into competitive gladiatorial spectacles. It produced that abomination, the worship of the individual athletic hero, and in so doing ruined as many characters as it made. Above all, however emotionally, and perhaps aesthetically, stirring is the sight of a keen and well-trained cricket eleven in the field, and whatever devoted and self-sacrificing labour masters may bestow in coaching a Fifteen, it has to be remembered that all this is really beside the point if it has been achieved at the expense of neglecting the majority or of bringing intellect into contempt.

Before the end of the nineteenth century the glorification of athletic proficiency as a means to this development of character was running wild. Few if any schools remained unaffected by it, though in some of course it was more flagrant than it has ever been in others. And once established it proved most difficult to check. Generations of parents grew up who looked back to their school days as the scene of their own athletic prowess and as little else. If one of these noted that his old school was consistently beaten by its rivals he sent his son elsewhere. He judged its progress not by the health and physical condition of the rank and file, still less by its examination results, but solely by the performances of its chosen Eights, Elevens, and Fifteens. He denounced the headmaster who rashly tried to keep games in their proper place. He paid the piper and he called the tune.

In the long run the schools provide what the parents want. The injury inflicted on the cause of education by the wildly exaggerated cult of games can only be undone by the laborious process of persuading parents to want the right things. To this task headmasters have latterly applied themselves, and from many schools, perhaps most, the worst evils of the system have been eliminated. Amongst boys themselves the reaction has been strong—perhaps too-violent. The very word 'team-spirit' is apt

to provoke derision. The individual athlete is nowhere allowed the same prominence that he used to enjoy. The dull futility of the old invariable routine has been tempered for the unathletic by the provision of alternatives. Although organized team-games are still as a rule compulsory, official eyes are sometimes shut if unathletic boys evade them. Games in which no promising athletes are under observation here and there receive serious attention and are played with vigour. Cricket, a futile pursuit when played without either aptitude or enthusiasm and the best hated time-waster of them all, has in some schools ceased to be compulsory, even where rowing, the most suitable alternative to it, is not available. Fairly general provision has been made for golf and tennis, fives and squash rackets, games which do not encourage co-operation but which for boys of average physique are just as hygienic as football, rowing or cricket, and in many schools they are recognized as legitimate alternatives to team-games. Riding is sometimes encouraged and even bicycling permitted. The formation of Officers Training Corps has provided a further form of gentle open-air exercise, and, however unimaginative the lines on which it has usually been organized, many an unathletic boy has blessed the O.T.C. and the rifle-shooting which accompanies it for the weekly break which it affords in the otherwise unescapable routine. In schools which are situated in open country, field-clubs and nature-study societies have been founded, and a few, daringly reacting in a minor degree to the vogue of earlier days, leave all boys to their own devices for one day in the week. In these ways, the most valuable being the provision of variety and free choice, the burden of organized athleticism has been vastly alleviated. More yet remains to be done, and imaginative pioneers are at work in many schools, devising further open-air activities in which boys at their own discretion may interest themselves.

It has to be recorded, however, that the Press has done, and is still doing, its utmost to accentuate the evils of the games system. Photographs of school Elevens and

Fifteens are regularly published. Even *The Times* devotes columns to accounts and detailed records of school matches. No doubt this exploitation of the schools is a mere matter of supply and demand, but it indicates what the public thinks of them and expects them to be. We need not wonder that the boys themselves have been apt to mistake the purpose for which their schools exist. Moreover, in recent years financial depression and the falling birth-rate have caused fiercer competition than ever before to secure the available boys, and in that competition, the grounds on which so many parents choose being what they are, few schools except a dozen of the most famous dare try to get on without the publicity which games afford. The remedy for the evil, as in matters of curriculum and examinations, rests ultimately with the parents. Without a change in their hearts little real reform is possible.

V

On the other hand, in matters of comfort, physical well-being, discipline and the promotion of civilized behaviour, the reformers have done well. The first step was to break down the old assumptions that it was of no consequence what the ordinary boy learnt as long as he was compelled to learn it, that his interest in his work was of no consequence whatever, and that boys and masters were necessarily enemies. To break down one was to undermine them all. In proportion as the subjects taught and the methods of handling them were brought into relation with current life, it was found possible to stimulate interest in his work even in the mind of the ordinary boy, with visible results in his mental awakening. Ceasing to be mere slave-driving, teaching itself became an interesting occupation. Men with personality and enthusiasms of their own outside the narrow classical routine entered the profession, and were able, and in time were encouraged by far-sighted headmasters, to give their personalities free play. The discovery was made, apparently at Harrow, that it was possible to be humorous in a class-room without fatal loss of dignity. The cult of games certainly had

the advantage of still further humanizing the relations between man and boy. The younger masters, at first taking a hand in organizing games, soon began actually to play in them, and it was difficult for boys to go on regarding those who had been in the same football scrum with them an hour or so before as members of a different species. By the end of the nineteenth century many assistant masters, in their capacities as boarding-house keepers, as teachers, or as out of school friends and companions, had been accepted by the boys as human beings; and even some headmasters were approachable. The great majority of boys came from their preparatory schools already trained to regard masters as friends, and even as intimates, and they were encouraged to retain that attitude. The result has been a revolution almost wholly for the good. Mutual sympathy and understanding are to-day firmly established in all good schools. The 'unruly horde,' divorced from all friendly contact with adults, used to comprise the whole school except for a few intellectuals. It exists to-day, but it is small. Few boys remain in it for the whole of their school-time, and it presents no problem. Indeed, the danger to-day comes from the opposite direction. So anxious are some masters to know their pupils and to break down the last barriers of reserve, that they divest themselves of all dignity, and descend to gossip and other intimacies to a degree which degrades them in the eyes of the boys themselves. In spite of this new type of artificial relationship, however, the results of the revolution have on the whole been salutary. If the friendships formed often arise from mutual athletic affinities rather than intellectual interests, at any rate it is rare to-day that any boy should be left to face his adolescent difficulties without sympathetic adult help.

A second radical innovation has also had far-reaching results. The reforming headmasters deliberately associated the best elements in the school with themselves, and entrusted them with some portion at least of the out-of-classroom discipline. As worked out by Arnold at Rugby, this association meant that the Sixth Form, the intellectuals, were placed in a position of responsibility

on a scale previously unknown. They were given extensive privileges, and in return were expected to occupy an intermediate position between boys and masters. By a similar delegation of authority housemasters provided for discipline within their boarding houses. This reliance on the Sixth Form may not have been an ideal means of preserving order, but at least it had two advantages. It taught the intellectuals the need to be also men of affairs, and it maintained among the other boys the prestige of the Sixth Form. Arnold's practice was widely imitated, but the authorities of many schools found that the character and personality, not to say the physical strength, required to keep the horde in subjection existed in other ranks quite as much as among the intellectuals. When organized games were introduced and brought other boys into prominence, they too were admitted as prefects or monitors into the inner ring of privilege and authority. The result was good for discipline, but it introduced fresh evils. Prefects of the new type made it their business to assert themselves at the expense of the Sixth Form, whom they already outshone in prestige. The battle was already raging in the schools between the intellectuals and the athletes, its issue doubtful. In schools where character was preferred to intellect as the quality deserving privilege, the athletes inevitably carried the day. In some the intellectuals became social outcasts, the athletes carrying the horde with them. In most they lapsed into obscurity. Deprived of the chance of experience as men of action as well as scholars, as Arnold's Sixth had been, they have in some schools drifted into disaffection and obstruction. Many a Sixth Form, in reaction against the cult of 'team-spirit' and overdone athleticism in general, has become the home of half-baked revolutionary notions and exaggerated individualism, its members revenging themselves for their suppression at the hands of their less articulate but more brawny rivals by writing bitter novels. Nor has the evil stopped at that. The English instinct to prefer character to intellect is doubtless sound, but the over-emphasis which most schools until quite recent years have laid on the former

has had the result of turning many intellectuals into permanent rebels. Having never been taught by a salutary taste of authority that success in practical affairs needs character as well as intelligence, they remain arrogantly contemptuous of their less nimble-witted oppressors. Until recently they have dominated Young Oxford. They provide the left-wing social and political leaders of our time, and in extreme cases are driven by their complexes into querulous priggishness of the New Statesman type.

VI

For good and evil, the creation of a privileged order, whether Sixth Form or Prefects, certainly affected a revolution. Their business was to enforce obedience to rules, to organize the games and other out-of-school activities, and to insist on civilized behaviour among their juniors. Their authority gave them the right to punish, the only form of punishment as yet devised being the traditional beating. They were trusted to the extent that as long as they kept order their own activities were not too closely supervised. Their privileges included a right to have certain services performed for them by junior boys, known as fags, a right previously exercised by anyone strong enough to enforce it. Under the new system, headmaster and housemasters retired into the background; their authority being called upon only in extreme cases. The best housemaster was thought to be one who kept in touch with all that went on without unnecessarily interfering with his prefects or dictating their methods. The system certainly ameliorated school life. Most boys were happier under discipline than they had been under the older anarchical conditions. When the right boys were selected as prefects, they responded well to the trust imposed upon them, and their taste of real responsibility, if not misused, was in itself a valuable education. The lot of junior boys was vastly improved, for those who had the right to fag them and to inflict corporal punishment at any rate saw to it that no one else dared to infringe their privileges. Small boys were as a

rule better off under the discipline, however severe, of a few selected seniors than as the victims of promiscuous persecution. Yet the system had its weaknesses. There was a tendency for prefects to regard rules as being made for their juniors and not for themselves, to forget their responsibilities while still insisting on their privileges, and to arrogate to themselves more and still more privileges. It may be a fundamental principle of English discipline that you must obey loyally in order to rule wisely, but that principle has not always been observed in the schools. When organized games began to dominate school life, prominent athletes were sometimes selected for prefectorial rank without due consideration of their other qualities. The prestige which they enjoyed made their task easy, and they kept a superficial discipline which sometimes became a reign of terror. On the other hand the practice still further accentuated the importance of games as the road to success, and in many cases had unfortunate effects on the prefects. They degenerated into swaggering bullies, in all respects a law to themselves. Moreover, quite apart from athleticism, the tradition survived among senior boys long after it had been abandoned by most masters that it was good for the souls of their juniors to be relentlessly persecuted before they grew strong enough to resist. Rationalizing their instincts, some prefects even to-day take it to be their serious duty to make the lives of all small boys miserable, to humiliate the intelligent, and to deride if not physically to maltreat the weak. To do so swells their sense of their own importance and publicly proclaims their supremacy. Once established in a school, a tradition of this sort is most difficult to suppress. The more miserable the lives of juniors who are brought up in it, the more eagerly some of them will look forward to the time when they in turn will be free to assert themselves. Even when a generation of prefects consciously abandons it, their successors are liable to relapse, and to begin beating up younger boys on principle. It is rare to-day to find a school, or even a house, in which reversion to the old tradition has been complete, but its strength is such that there is always

a tendency for prefects to revive the theory on which their fathers boast of having acted.

Nevertheless, for the ultimate cure of puerile criminality schoolmasters and prefects are learning to rely upon kindness, sympathy and the deliberate provision of a civilized environment. To these in the long run boys can be relied upon to respond, and in proportion as they do, punishment will become less necessary. The present writer has known well-disciplined houses in which for terms at a time there has been none. As a general rule, however, traditions being what they are, authority must have sharp deterrents in reserve. For certain types of offences no satisfactory substitute has yet been found for corporal punishment justly meted out. Few boys resent it, and fewer still feel it to be a degradation. As a means of dealing with moral offences it is of course useless, for these are symptoms of disease rather than of lawlessness, and psychological disease, though schoolmasters may diagnose it, is best left to specialists for treatment. Yet the cane provides the quickest and most effective way of dealing with minor acts of insubordination and sins of omission. Provided that every use of it is duly reported to higher authority and that it is not so frequent as to harden the offenders, it serves its purpose well. There may still be a few schools where beating is still incessant, but taking schools as a whole it is slowly dying out, not because experienced schoolmasters believe it to be essentially wrong, but because the offences which call for it are themselves becoming rarer, and because most boys, though not yet all, respond more readily to milder measures.

The traditional custom of fagging has also been profoundly modified under modern conditions. It may be taken as axiomatic that wherever a number of boys of various ages live together, in a large family for example, the elders will undertake innumerable activities, from organizing games and societies to writing and producing plays, by which all benefit. It comes naturally that in return the juniors should save their elders time and trouble

by fetching and carrying, running errands and doing a host of small jobs under direction. But if such co-operation, in a word fagging, is natural, it will in fact occur, and will be enforced, whatever regulations are made against it. The trouble connected with it arises from the fact that unless systematized and regulated it tends to develop into forced labour on a large scale, and to provide opportunity for other evils. The question of the desirability of fagging then comes to this: Do we prefer to recognize it, and having done so to systematize it in such a manner as will safeguard it against the evils, or shall we shut our eyes to it and let it go unregulated? The original tradition, in which all juniors were at the mercy of the whims, sometimes Sadistic, of any ill-conditioned lout, was extinguished long ago by the institution of the prefectorial system, and this was a step to the good in that it did more than anything else to put an end to physical bullying. Yet a system in which the whole spare time of small boys, except when they are actually in class-rooms or playing organized games, may be encroached upon by prefects, has little to commend it. Moreover, as we have seen, not all prefects live up to their responsibilities, and when the tasks which the fags are set are deliberately chosen for the reason that they are menial and degrading, when, in other words, the fagging system is used by prefects to remind the slaves that they are slaves, there is still less to be said in defence. Unless systematized, the custom does not imply much improvement upon the original tradition except that the junior has exchanged bullying by all and sundry for oppression by the privileged few, the conditions of his life being now dependent upon the character of the prefect whom he serves.

On the other hand, fagging and the prefectorial system go hand in hand, and to abolish it altogether is to abolish also the valuable protection which juniors receive from prefects, and to put them once more into the hands of the unprivileged. The practice of the schools to-day is varied. In some, unlimited prefectorial privilege is the rule. Others claim to have abolished fagging altogether,

though it may be doubted whether in fact the authorities have done more than shut their eyes to it, thereby allowing the unregulated type, with its attendant evils, to creep back unseen. In some schools, however, there has been evolved a systematized form of fagging which in most respects is satisfactory. It is publicly recognized and standardized. Prefects have allotted to them certain boys at fixed hours, and regulations have been drawn up which state precisely what services may, and may not, be imposed. Thus limited, it serves the purpose of training juniors in co-operation. Most of them would give this willingly and naturally, but the system brings the laggards into line with the rest. It preserves prefectorial privilege, and it assures protection for the small boy without subjecting him to the worst caprices of bad prefects. Such a system is of course a compromise. It still needs careful watching to prevent breaches of the regulations, but where it has been adopted, the juniors, though disciplined, are usually happy. It would seem that some form of fagging is inseparable from life in boarding schools. If that is so, it must be recognized, for only thus can it be regulated. In confirmation of this view it may be stated that the only three cases of serious physical bullying which have come to the present writer's notice in recent years have occurred in schools which announce that they do not permit fagging of any sort.

VII

The material conditions of boarding school life have been transformed out of all recognition. Proper consideration is now given everywhere to questions of hygiene and sanitation. In such matters, and in comfort, the schools have at least kept pace with the rising standards of home life. It is rare to-day to find dormitories, living rooms or classrooms that are not warm, dry and airy. Some are even decorative. The meanness and ugliness which used to characterize them have largely disappeared, and the improvement has gone far to supplement the other factors that have combined to civilize their occupants. There is even a tendency here and there to imagine that

pictures, sunny rooms and costly laboratories make a good school, and to forget that the right man can teach more biology with extemporized fittings in an outhouse than his stereotyped imitator in an electrically heated vivarium with vita-glass windows.

In many schools the boarding-house master still lodges and feeds his boys without detailed control by the headmaster. Everywhere, however, the school authorities have taken over the ownership of the houses, have fixed the boarding fee payable to the master, and have set limits on the numbers to be accommodated. The boarding-house system is often criticized on the ground that it enables the master to make extra profits by over-crowding and under-feeding his lodgers. In schools where there has been intense competition for entry, some housemasters may have succumbed to the temptation to spend nothing on amenities and as little as might be on food and service, and have fortified their consciences by vaunting the 'hardening' processes of school life. On the other hand, in present conditions, when most schools and the housemasters in them are in active competition with one another for boys, the house which falls below the standard of the rest will quickly empty, and the house which goes one better is likely to be full. The system of detached boarding houses, each of which as a community develops a kind of traditional personality of its own, is a valuable asset to the school of which they form a part. Their rivalry, not only in games, behaviour and manners, but sometimes even in work, plays a large part in determining the standards of the whole. The closeness of the contact between the housemaster and his boys has in the past been one of the principal factors in civilizing their behaviour and humanizing their outlook, and where it is maintained it still contributes valuably to their development. He is primarily responsible for their well-being. His advice largely determines their choice of careers. His personality powerfully influences their own.

Many of the new schools founded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have, however, abandoned the system

of detached houses. Their boys, though still divided for administrative and competitive purposes into groups to which the name 'houses' is attached, and which are supervised by 'housemasters,' live under one roof and feed in a central dining hall. By this means considerable economies are effected in service. Food and other supplies are bought on a wholesale scale by a separate school official. The money saved is available for other school purposes or for reducing fees. Diet and living conditions can be standardized. There is no one to whom the stigma of lodging-house keeper can be applied, nor any individual who will benefit at the expense of the boys. When well organised and supervised, such a system is superficially satisfactory. Yet in practice the master in charge of the artificial group known as a 'house' is no substitute for one who has full responsibility. He is either perforce a bachelor or else a mere daily visitor. Boys in such schools suffer severely from missing the air of domesticity which under modern conditions usually pervades houses of the older type and the constant contact with their housemaster and his lady. They tend to be rougher in manner and far less at ease in society or in the presence of strangers—the products of an institution rather than of a family. As for the feeding, though there is never the actual shortage which was the disgrace of some detached houses in the past, and though the quantities and calorific values may be worked out by skilled dieticians, high standards of cooking and service are rarely maintained for long. The meals too frequently give evidence of mass production, and the service is usually more at fault than the food. Unless there is constant supervision by an enthusiastic steward, or better still a new steward every third year, they too become institutional. Food can come out of a model kitchen with electric plate-washers more carelessly cooked and more greasily served than would ever be allowed in a house where the housemaster dined with his boys, and his wife is responsible for the staff.

VIII

The Public Schools have been bitterly assailed, and as

ardently defended. Yet, though the target has been in all conscience large enough, most of the attacks have been wildly beside the mark, and the apologies almost equally irrelevant. The schools have never been the deserts of Philistinism that their assailants have called them. A truer charge would be the divorce of brain and brawn that they have sometimes encouraged. As for the physical and mental misery to which younger boys are alleged to be subjected, there still may be a few, but certainly not many schools and houses where such things are possible. In general the worst that even a timid and sensitive boy has to fear is the penalty which every bad 'mixer' pays in later life—that of being ignored. He may for a time have to bear his burden in loneliness. The schools are not, and never have been, the sinks of iniquity that some of the complex-ridden intellectuals have depicted. To choose the worst house in a bad school and to represent it as a normal specimen of the system, is easy and sensational, but gratuitously misleading. Wherever boys, or puppies, are gathered together there is always some tendency towards indecent behaviour. It is as prevalent in day schools as in boarding schools, for though in the latter there may be more opportunity, it is also far more easily detected and dealt with. Most schoolmasters to-day have learnt to distinguish between the intense but innocent romantic friendships that spring up between boys, and the kind of association, usually involving neither mutual respect nor friendship, which leads to indecency. They no longer confuse the two, and then, as they once did, imagine that both lead straight to Sodomy. The former are normal. They often provide valuable safeguards against indecency. The dangers arising from them for the most part resolve themselves in amicable but frank conversation between adult and adolescent. The latter are symptoms of disease. When early recognized as such they can usually be cured. In any case they are the affair of the trained psychologist. The savage penalties formerly inflicted of course did nothing to cure the disease. The main effect of these, and of the atmosphere of perpetual suspicion which used to

cloud the relations between master and boy, was to drive the evil underground and to make boys so secretive that the disease was usually detected too late for any cure but amputation. The attitude of modern headmasters towards the subject is illustrated by the action, possibly extreme, of one of them who disillusionized two boys of their romantic attraction to one another by lending them his study for their meetings.

But if the best cure for all such troubles is openness and sympathy, the only real preventive is early training in the intelligent use of leisure and the provision of rational interests for boys of every type. As in later life, the principal seed-bed of moral evils is boredom. We no longer rely on trying to occupy the whole of a boy's time in compulsory tasks, intellectual or athletic. That method failed, and has been replaced by one which allows not only for freedom but also for freedom of choice. The boy to-day is busier out of school than before, but it is in occupations which interest him for the reason that the choice between them is his own.

The failure of the Churches to maintain their hold on the nation, and the general decay of institutional religion, cannot altogether be laid at the door of the schools. Most boys acquire an attitude of indifference in their homes. On the other hand, no efforts made by the schools, however frequent the attendances in chapel and however hearty the singing, seem to have had much effect in counteracting it. In their relief at escaping from a routine which involves eight (it used to be fourteen) compulsory chapel attendances a week, most young men take a ten years' holiday from going to church at all. Nor have the schools been conspicuously successful in providing boys with a faith which will satisfy the requirements of modern thought. The continued use of biblical commentaries whose palpable dishonesty and deliberate burking of difficulties are detected by any sensible boy, and the habit of allowing boys to think that we expect them to believe the incredible as a condition of being Christians at all, converge to convince them that those

who profess the faith are either basically insincere or fools, or both; and, under the cover of an armour of outward acquiescence, precocious infidelity grows in consequence. Here also much of the evil is due to the conservatism of examining bodies, though the hypocritical equivocation in which most schoolmasters take refuge when discussing real religious difficulties often arises from the fear, usually groundless in these days, of giving pain to parents. Until we are bold enough to insist on a sincere presentation of a rational faith, there can be no improvement.

In inculcating Christianity as a way of life, a definite desire for right conduct and decent living, the schools are more successful. Here again, however, headmasters who claim that their boys go out into the world inspired with the spirit of service would do well to compare the proportions in which boarding-school and day-school boys serve their generation as scoutmasters, as missionaries, as regular helpers in clubs for working-class boys or in colonies for the unemployed, or in other forms of self-sacrificing public service. Some Public School boys, to the credit of themselves and their schools, take part in such activities, but the numbers, though increasing, provide little basis for the contention that the Public Schools are the natural homes of leadership and public service. They do their share, but certainly no more. Latterly the care taken in some schools to keep their boys in constant contact with social needs and conditions has led to improvement in these respects, but the attitude usually prevalent until recent years provided a dismal commentary on the 'Public School Spirit.' For most boys it consisted in contributing an occasional sixpence to the mission maintained by the school. Equally depressing is the attitude towards one another of boarding-schools (and for that matter of some day-schools) which differ slightly in social grade, the difference being measured by the standard of fees. Even in schools which encourage contacts between their boys and the very poor, the authorities, anxious not to offend parents by lowering the social status of their school, assiduously guard it from association with others a rung or two lower down the

scale; and their attitude is naturally reflected in that of the boys.

These defects need not surprise us. If too much has sometimes been claimed for the schools, they have also been saddled with the responsibility for what are really national characteristics. The truth is that they are a microcosm of the nation and only in the very long run its leaders. In the cult of public service and in that of snobbery they follow the trend of public opinion, as represented by what the parents want. They can do little more. Neither the character of the Six Hundred who followed their leaders into the jaws of death nor the unreason in high places that ordered the charge were the product of Public Schools. Both are standard British products, and the schools do well if they manage to stimulate the one without pandering to the other. The conflict between snobbery and public service, like those between tradition and revolution, between culture and Philistinism, between blind faith and reason, between intellect and character, was raging before Public Schools played any part in national development outside a very narrow circles. The most that schoolmasters can hope to effect is a gradual change of emphasis between the rivals, and before they can do even that they must first re-educate the parents.

IX

Most schools in recent years have at any rate faced their fundamental problems. Some of them are transforming themselves as fast as the examination incubus, the shortage of the right type of masters and the natural conservatism of parents will allow. Some, especially the latest foundations, are experimenting on wholly novel lines. There are at choice schools where nineteenth-century traditions survive intact, where judicious compromises have been effected, and where the legacy of the past has been deliberately set aside. On what principles should parents choose? The present writer has often toyed with the problem, in his case academic,

where to send his son. The school of his dreams is set in open country, preferably mountainous. It is an ancient foundation. Its central buildings date mainly from the fifteenth century and in part from the twelfth. It has modern boarding-houses of the detached type. The subjects taught in it are chosen on one or other of the grounds that they are likely to stimulate interest and intellectual curiosity or that they are such as can be directly and continuously related to ordinary human life. The methods of teaching involve training the boys to work largely by themselves, as far as possible unsupervised and at times of their own choice. At least one-third of all school hours is devoted to some form of hand-work or other creative activity, musical, mechanical or æsthetic. Purely linguistic and abstract subjects are studied by none but the ablest boys, and not even by them in their last year unless they are destined for further academic education. For at least a year before he leaves, every boy, whether he has passed a public examination or not, is given the opportunity to specialize in the subject or subjects in which he has learnt to be most interested. No pressure is brought on any boy to take any public examination. No game or other out-of-school activity is at any time or on any pretext compulsory, and there are at least a dozen out-of-door pursuits available as alternatives to organized team-games. Free time is the boy's own to utilize or to waste as he will. In choosing prefects the authorities give first consideration to personality and character, some to intelligence and none to athletic prowess. And there is a properly regulated system of fagging. Schools whose dramatic performances are illustrated in *The Times*, or whose authorities vaunt their examination or games successes, go to the bottom of the list, whatever their other excellencies.

No such school exists, nor under present conditions can exist. Parents, employers, and examining bodies see to that. Yet there are some that approximate as far as they can and dare; and they would dare more if they were supported.

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

By JOHN GARRETT

WHEN ST. LUKE wrote, 'And the child grew and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom,' he might well have been defining the threefold object of modern education. Physical, spiritual, and mental growth have all been dealt with, and it now remains to consider the means and the making, and how far it is desirable and possible within the limits of a day school to inculcate those standards which have come to be known as 'the English tradition of education.' Since the publication of Dr. Norwood's book of that name,¹ many day-schools have taken more and more as their aim the attempt to incorporate in their lives the older and continuous standards of the public boarding-schools.

During the early critical days when the State took control of education in England, the influence of Greek and medieval philosophy in education only survived because the public boarding schools, led by men like Thring, still defended their freedom from centralized administration. As recently as 1929, Dr. Norwood could write of day schools: 'On the whole these newer schools are shy of the old tradition, and regard themselves rather as extensions of the State system of elementary education. . . . They are inclined to judge themselves by external tests, a good inspection report, a good examination result and other things that can be measured in an office: they are apt to feel that they are not encouraged to try for things that are more intangible, and possibly of more value.'

If a change of attitude has taken place in the newer schools in the last few years, it is due in no small part to the influence of Dr. Norwood's words on headmasters; on the Board of Education, and on local authorities who

¹ *English Tradition of Education* by Cyril Norwood (Murray, 1929)

have now come to look with approval on heterogeneity in their schools, and with disappointment on a soulless uniformity in aim and achievement. Centralized demand has come to count for less, and the individuality of headmaster and staff, creating a particular *ethos*, for more.

Superficial observers have seen fit to scoff at such schools, and to suspect them of a snobbish imitation of their betters. But the change lies deeper than in nomenclature alone; and day schools are now taking as their charter the teaching of a way of life, not mere provision of the means of earning a living. They are trying to create within their walls an ordered self-respecting community where, by a proper balance of freedom and control, each boy can play a part which will contribute to the general well-being.

The great advantage of the boarding school is the continuity of environment which it is able to ensure for its pupils; there the boy can feel the impact of a master's personality at a thousand points denied to the day-school boy. Clearly this may be a handicap too, for the system of boarding schools, in their isolation, can produce on the staff such horrors as the permanent adolescent—the emotional vampire preying on the affections of his pupils, which are misunderstood by them and over-estimated by him; the games bore, making his pupils propel balls with the bored desperation of old ladies playing patience; even a Simmons, a Perrin, or a Chips. The day school is better productive of the whole man, who beckons his boys on to privileges and pleasures for which their development will qualify them, rather than playing on the fatal note of 'boy among boys.' In a day school, however, continuity of environment is as important to achieve, because otherwise it becomes nearly impossible to give to the adolescent two things of which he stands in greatest need—the buttressing of the soul in security, and a sense of belonging to a community greater than himself inside which he will function more efficiently than outside.

Increasingly the modern home finds itself unable to provide such needs. Transport facilities have gone far to

destroy the settled order of the home. The car takes the family to the coast or the country, and what is gained in fresh air is more than lost because of the nervous strain of perpetual movement, and the irritability of driver and passenger at over-crowded roads. To attempt to have lunch in any big city on a Sunday is to discover the change: where before the War, Sunday dinner was an institution in middle-class homes, to-day the same people save work and prefer to pay to eat to the accompaniment of a blaring orchestra. Fathers, mothers, and schoolboys sit there for the most part in mute silence, the parents learning nothing of their son's thoughts and feelings, and the son forced into an untimely sophistication. Even where meals are still eaten at home, it is to the sound of the wireless, that enemy of intimacy as well as of Homework, and to which the majority give ear-service but rarely attention. Too often to-day the boy who is 'hot for certainties' is palmed off with a crooner. Many parents are aware that these are no conditions in which their young can grow to their full estate, and so they come to rely on the school to provide what is ruled out by the nature of their own lives. It therefore follows that demands are made of day schools to-day unparalleled in educational history, and these responsibilities have to be shouldered.

Because of such conditions it might be argued that Preparation should be done on the school premises and Homework eliminated. To do this would be to capitulate too completely to bad conditions, and to deprive parents of their responsibility for providing a proper quiet for their children's concentration. Furthermore it is no small contribution to a boy's own firmness of character if he creates for himself time and suitable opportunity for work. If this is all done in the school under the supervision of masters half of its value is destroyed. It is possible to make the world *too* soft for the growing boy. Because the modern house is often lacking in staying-power, considered either as building or as a home, is no excuse for offering for it a complete substitute in the school.

But at Raynes Park an attempt to meet some of the new needs has been made by the boy living what is called the School Day, as opposed to a morning and afternoon session, divided by a rush home to dinner. Boys are encouraged to stay at school, occupied with work, games, societies, and interests, from morning until evening. Dinners and teas are cheaply provided, and boys if they prefer it may bring their own meals. Expenses are kept low because boys themselves do the waiting and clear away and take down the tables. Not only is this an economy but it also provides an admirable occasion for service and usefulness on behalf of the community. Nothing more quickly gives confidence to a young new boy than to feel that he belongs, and parents welcome their sons' initiation in such helpful domesticity. The dinner hour becomes a social occasion, and many of the activities difficult to crowd into the normal day school life find their place here. Masters presiding over their own tables have the opportunity of getting to know boys beyond the classroom walls, and all share in a common meal, the result being a humanization of each for the other. Only so can the housemaster approximate at all in opportunity to his prototype in a boarding school, only so can he give to his boys the benefit of play of personality on personality.

This stability of being is a real benefit to the boy's health in the life of perpetual and often meaningless motion in which speed has become an end in itself. He is freed from the anxiety of catching train or bus to ensure punctuality; he is freed from the crowded peril of the roads, he is freed for education for nine consecutive hours. A wise parent once went further when he said: 'It's better all round. The boy used to get delayed or dawdle on the way home, and then his mother would get angry because his dinner had to be kept hot. Then I'd be angry at having my short dinner time disturbed.'

In days when an only child is frequent, and such emotional stresses of family life are therefore unshared with brother or sister, this point of view is important.

It is certain that the boy who has his school day uninterrupted by journeying is on the whole the better able to do good work in the afternoon. We have found that the boys for whom most has been done, and who have sunk the deepest roots in the school, are those who have been able to enjoy the whole School Day. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this is due to the greater scope which such an arrangement affords for enlisting a boy's interests within the walls of the school. His 'grande passion,' be it railways or the stage, gardening or entomology, painting or model making, is more likely to be discovered and fostered before he stands in need of it as a prop during the difficulties of adolescence.

The greater the number of school societies the more efficient is the school, for only thus can it cater for the multiplicity of interests of its pupils. Time must be found for their development, even as time must be found for the playing not of one game but of as wide a variety of games as is possible.

There are worse tests of a school than observing how many boys precipitate themselves from its gates the moment the bell rings, for all the world like factory workers liberated by the siren; if the boy has his vital interests concentrated elsewhere, he is the less likely on leaving to continue to draw strength from the school.

What characteristics must the wise parent look for and what has he the right to demand from a school? If parents now expect more from schoolmasters than they used to, it is equally certain that they are themselves interested as never before in selecting the right school for their children. They very properly consult their sons' elementary school headmaster as to the secondary school in the district which will best suit their boys. Before the War education was left largely in the control of the mother in middle and lower class homes. To-day the father gives up a morning's work in order to come to an interview before his son sits for the entrance examination and brings his wife with him. As often as not he gives as an explanation of his desire to give his son a

secondary school education his ambition that his son shall not have to work as hard as he did. He wants him to have a reasonable opportunity to lead the full life of the good citizen, and he knows well that the passport to such a post on leaving school is still the School Certificate.

Such a demand is entirely reasonable, and is in accordance with the aim of any school which can claim to be a place of learning, this aim being the development of the boy's mind to its fullest capacity. Contemporary fashion tends to obscure this great objective; there is to-day much glib talk about education for leisure when the emphasis should still be on education for work. A man's work should still be his happiness and his goal. A school which has developed its sons' brains and hands for work will find that the fruitful occupation of leisure will follow as surely as night the day. Just as there is a latent danger in the belated campaign for Physical Fitness that health will become a morbid preoccupation of the mind instead of the spontaneous result of sensible living, so there is a danger in placing emphasis on leisure instead of upon work. It is a case of putting the cart before the horse. The standard of work is properly the parent's first care and the school's first responsibility. Increased leisure to come must be taken into account, but give the boy a trained and well-stocked mind 'and all these things shall be added unto him.' Because in schools lessons have to be learned there is no reason why a life cannot be lived; lessons can be made and should be made the vehicle of instruction in the good life.

Much nonsense has been talked about the evil of examinations. No one would claim that they were a perfect system of testing either the intelligence or the use made of the opportunity given: such the wit of man has not yet devised. The indiscriminating demand for Matriculation regardless of a boy's capacity is an evil, because it unduly circumscribes curricula, and prevents boys from finding expression in the channels most suited to their abilities. But the standard of the General School Certificate is a fair enough test for any boy who is worth secondary

education, and external examinations provide useful barometers of a school's efficiency. If examinations can be made the servant of the educational system, and not its master, all will be well.

The most difficult problem of the day school is the relationship of parent and the school. So vexed is it that no one writing to avoid offence would embark upon it, no one writing with a conscientious desire to clarify issues could avoid it. Boarding schools are finding easy access by cars a disturbing factor in their peaceful work, and the Sunday invasion of parents is a menace which in many cases has had to be controlled. But in a day school the boy's home environment and the relationship of father and mother are factors which have to be taken into account daily. The boy is constantly confronted by them, even if he is not made the victim of them.

Take the case of the habitual thief. As often as not he is the result of starved affection. He has perhaps monopolized his parents' love until the arrival of another child has either thrust him into the background or aroused in him perhaps quite unwarranted jealousy. His desire to establish his own personality, and to get his own back on a society which seems to have played him a dirty trick, may take the form of stealing. The old unwise treatment would be to thrash the boy for stealing: the new way of enlightenment is to seek out the reason why he stole, and to take steps to adjust the emotional state which produced the trouble. Such a course eats up time. Hours have often to be spent in beating down the resistance of involved lying which the boy puts up for defence. The parents have to be consulted, and here infinite tact and discretion have to be employed, if the way of wisdom is to be indicated without alienation and resentment. But a school worth its salt has never to count the cost or the time. A boy cannot be thrashed because he has stolen school property or misappropriated money given him for his dinner bill, when one knows that with wiser treatment at home he would never have been guilty of the offence. As often as not its cause is excessive

restriction, a refusal to allow him to feel his feet, an attempt to keep him a baby when he feels himself a man. A parent has the right to expect a school to tell him of such mistakes, just as he has the equal right to deny the truth of the diagnosis.

In a day school parents and school must of necessity be partners in the boy's interests and development. If either side stops short of complete sincerity with the other, the boy must inevitably suffer. The clue to the difficult, anti-social pupil is as often as not to be found in the home, and the modern-minded schoolmaster has sometimes to be detective and often priest. The boy who is 'everything to his mother' because her own emotional life is maladjusted; the boy who irritates his father because he occupies too large a part in the mother's life; the boy who has been maddened by exhortations to tidy cleanliness when his instincts are towards a dirty chaos of person; the boy driven to naughtiness and even sometimes contact with the police by the excessively high standards of virtue demanded by the home; the boy goaded to vulgarity by suburban refinement and gentility; the boy whose mother by excessive use of the thermometer transmits to him her own fear of physical suffering; the boy made to work too hard too early—all these and more represent difficulties between parent and child which the school may at any time be called upon to understand, and understanding to solve.

However conscientious the layman may be there are often times when he stands in urgent need of consultation with a professional psychologist for such cases. If public authorities, when they have satisfied the belated demand for more adequate physical training, could spare some money to provide guidance for harassed headmasters in cases of complexity beyond their ken, great results would ensue. At present, for the boy who is sane but anti-social, there is little help. He is often not suited for life in a normal secondary school, and still less can he be sent for help to a mental home. Some half-way house is desperately needed. The child guidance clinic, while

often doing excellent work, is divorced from the practicalities of school life. The solution is most likely to be found when the school authorities can command the wisdom of a psychologist, whose services are retained by the public authority in a consultative capacity.

The school must further claim the inalienable right to determine the correct method of punishment for offences occurring within its province. To the parent's demand of 'Beat the boy ; it's the only thing he understands,' a deaf ear must be turned, and the parent reminded of the wise words of Thomas Fuller who wrote in 1637 : 'Those that are invincibly dull and negligent also. Correction may reform the latter, not amend the former. All the whetting in the world can never set a razor's edge on that which hath no steel in it. Shipwrights and boatmakers may choose those crooked pieces of timber, which other carpenters refuse.' He can also take comfort from Ascham ; 'Those that be commonly the wisest, the best learned, and the best men also, when they be old, were never commonly the quickest of wit when they were young. . . . Even the wisest of your great beaters do as oft punish nature as they do correct faults.' Although a Headmaster of Eton once used to say : 'It is your duty to be pure in heart. If you are not pure in heart I will flog you,' it is still true that virtue can no more be instilled by corporal punishment than a nation can be made good by Act of Parliament. Parents and school have somehow to discover a common ground where their partnership can work to the boy's profit. If the school is understanding, tender, and courteous, the home has to appreciate such qualities, and have in them its sympathetic confidence.

A problem which often arises in a day school is the disparity between the standards inculcated at school and those prevailing in the home, and these are more often cultural than moral. The school must rightly regard itself as the custodian of an ancient tradition of sound learning which it is its bounden duty to pass on to its sons ; but that learning need not be encased and encrusted in the covers of Virgil and Gibbon : it has to be reinterpreted in

contemporary idiom, if it is to be of use to boys in their own lives. To teach the elements of dramatic criticism it is not necessary always to see classical plays. Schools have to give standard and taste, but in doing so they often run the risk not only of creating intellectual snobs, but more seriously of giving to boys a conflict between school values and home values. If the school emphasizes the worth of *Coriolanus*, and the home enjoys only *Me and my Girl*, what is the boy to make of it? If the school discusses the previous night's wireless programme, as it should, and the boy hears praise given only to that part of the entertainment to which his father refused to listen, what is his position? If the school accustoms the boy to Van Gogh and Breughel, and the home knows only Marcus Stone and calender art, what is he going to do about it? Here is real danger of conflict: Shakespeare or musical comedy, Toscanini or the crooners.

The handling of the position demands supreme tact. An attitude of superiority is fatal and not to be tolerated: at the same time the boy should be made aware that he is being guided towards a fuller appreciation of permanent values. An insistence that everything must be first-class of its kind is a help to adjustment. Parents themselves, however, are the real solution; for nothing is more certain than that the school which seeks their identification in its own life, which incorporates them in its own interests, which beckons them to a type of entertainment which is vitally different from that to which the cinema has accustomed them—and of which they are themselves tired without knowing it,—will find them willing allies and keen supporters. They are only waiting for a bold lead.

A school dares not associate its building with popular whist drives and dances, not because it sees in these things anything wrong but because it stands for something quite different, and parents can get their fill of these elsewhere. What it can do is to associate parents in such activities as the School Play. Mulcaster saw in acting an opportunity to teach boys 'audacity and good behaviour.'

We see in it the best expression of the corporate life of the school, to which all sections can contribute something. Parents quite unaccustomed to Shakespeare's verse have come first from a sense of duty because it is the School Play: they have come again in consequence of a newly discovered delight unexpectedly found. Greek plays in translation have had enthusiastic audiences on a by-pass road. Concerts of classical music have induced parents themselves to fetch out long discarded violins and take lessons again. Mothers have betaken themselves to matinées at the Old Vic instead of to the latest musical comedy, and parents have joined school theatre expeditions in a common enjoyment. Lectures, film shows, and play readings have drawn attentive audiences so that the school begins to be a centre where parents share with their sons pleasure which is different. Mothers spend willing hours making costumes; the School Play viewed in this light becomes a venture in which parents have themselves a vested interest. An extension of the principle is the formation of a play-producing society consisting of members of the staff, parents, and old boys.

It is not pretended that this is all easy of achievement, likely either to have a hundred per cent response or to give quick results. Disappointments there must be, as when an audience of four hundred will muster to see films, whereas forty come to hear a distinguished film critic lecture about standards in cinema-art. But the experiment in co-operation between parents and staff is worth trying, and the signs are encouraging. It can be greatly helped by members of the staff getting into the homes: nothing is as fruitful of goodwill, nothing as instructive to both parties. There can be learned the atmosphere which conditions the hours the boy spends away from school, there can be sensed any conflict which may be worrying him. Only so can the home and the school, the two forces which control the boy's development, hope to affect a fusion of understanding whereby each co-operates with the other for the boy's good. Parents can thus be made aware of the aims underlying

the school's busy life, and masters can know the difficulties which beset the parents.

The time has gone when Mr. Wells in *Joan and Peter* could with truth put the words into the mouth of a headmaster: 'I had to work for what the parents required of me. I had no idea of the immensity of resistance these would offer to constructive things.' To-day the opposite is more nearly true in day schools, and parents tend rather to cancel out of their own responsibilities, leaving too much to the school once they have found it. It is a common experience to find in boys no knowledge whatever of the simplest tenets of the Christian faith, and a generation is growing up ignorant not only of the theological basis of Christianity, but also of the very ethical basis of Christ's teaching. At a recent entrance examination only six boys out of seventeen, aged 11 or 12 years, were able to answer the question, 'What happened on the first Good Friday which causes the Christian world still to observe that day?' In former days of greater religious uniformity the school could safely assume the function of doctrinal guide. To-day, however, this is an impracticability, and an attempt to recreate this function will be unsuccessful and probably insincere in a state school which lacks the inspiration of its own chapel and the services of a trained theologian. Too many good schoolmasters are not orthodox Christians, too many Christian schoolmasters are timorous of advancing a theological justification of their own position in the face of modern science. The facts of the life of our Lord can be taught: the Bible regarded as literature can be presented: but the difficulty of staffing Scripture periods with men who will conscientiously go beyond an historical or a literary approach is increasingly difficult.

A school can make the individual aware of the 'inherited system of morality which represents the experience of the race, the rules which our ancestors have found to govern the game.' It can give him a desire for right conduct, and make him aware of being a member of 'a community which stands for something higher than

that to which he could individually attain, and which therefore lifts him on to a higher level of achievement. But it is no longer certain that under existing conditions the secondary schools can guarantee to parents an adequate and sincere teaching of dogmatic Christianity as a way of life dictated not by social convenience but by Divine precept. In a school which draws its pupils from homes of every conceivable faith and unfaith, such a course is very nearly impossible. The conscientious parent would prefer to undertake the task himself according to his own lights, and it is by no means certain that in existing circumstances the home is not the correct place for such instruction.

The chaos of belief within the Established Church makes the position even more complex. If a specialist Scripture master is appointed, to what branch or party of the Church should he belong? With the Church speaking with such broad comprehensiveness as to include divergent views on a point of such cardinal importance as the Virgin Birth, which should be the official view put forward in a State School, and how can the Gospels be taught without such discussion arising? In all probability the school must confine itself to hoping that it creates, however imperfectly, such an atmosphere within its walls that the ideals of Christ's teaching shall penetrate every boy during his five years' passage. Thus self-interest and the consequent accumulation of wealth have to give way as motives of life to selflessness and a willingness to serve. 'To each his need, from each his power.' The unsocial individualist has to be socialized by the example of people who work for the whole community. A social consciousness which rules out considerations of self has to be aroused and this can be done by no method of direct exhortation. The school's atmosphere must be so compelling as to affect every boy, not by dogmatic assertion but by power of example, so that his soul is rooted in a tradition which has service for its watchword and love for its law. The future of this country and of Europe is obscure, but if a school has given to its sons an intelligence which can see through hypocrisy and political cant, and

also an integrity of character which can come through chaos with standards unshaken, it will have been not altogether unworthy of its opportunity. Education's task is not the instruction of political nostrum or economic quackery. The life of the spirit, which a school must have if it is to live, can only be judged in the number of missionaries it can send forth to express in their lives the words 'Lo, I am among ye as one who serveth.'

If the school to-day is less certain of its obligations to the welfare of the soul, it still should have no doubt about its responsibility for the welfare of the body. Boys and girls are now submitted as never before to constant assault on their lowest appetites. The cinema is potentially an instrument of education of the highest value, whether considered as projector in the classroom or as popular entertainment. It is not enough for us to assume an attitude of superior detachment: the cinema and broadcasting programmes have to be absorbed into the very content of the curriculum, so that habits of discrimination may be cultivated. If this can be done in the schools, a generation will grow up which goes, not to the cinema, but to see a particular film, and a state of affairs, will be unknown in which a listener can say about a wireless set, 'I've got so used to it now, I don't know whether it is on or off.'

But when everything has been done in the way of recommending a particular film showing in the neighbourhood, and when discussion of standards and shortcomings of films has done something to instruct taste and develop a sense of criticism, the majority of day-school boys will still go with or without their parents to cinemas where they will see pictures displaying life lived in a sexual jungle. Values are tawdry, conduct shoddy, and appeal to higher things non-existent. The glamorous content of films is only one aspect of modern life which makes for an accentuated neuroticism. A comparison of the attitude to morality of the modern novel with its Victorian counterpart, shows an acquiescence in adultery and its con-

sequences which is revolutionary. Whereas Steerforth's seduction of Little Emily was shown to be the ruin of her life, the modern novel would treat it as an occasion for aphrodisiac writing followed by psychological speculation, an incident and no more.

It is well perhaps that we have grown in merciful understanding and a sense of pity, but less well if that growth is achieved only at the expense of discarding moral values and throwing overboard all admiration for the virtues of discipline. Constant and far-reaching assault is made on the lowest instincts of the boy. He has only to open a magazine to see advertisements, pictures of the half-clothed female form, and the very dummies displaying corsets in shop-windows have of late assumed positions of erotic abandon hitherto unimagined. His power of straight thinking is imperilled by strip advertising, and in an age which is asked to believe that Mabel got herself a husband by squeezing a cream on to her hands, education needs even to give warning against such methods of charlatan advertising. No primitive tribe could ever show as pathetic a belief in magic as is revealed in the contemporary purchasing public.

New menaces demand new means for meeting them. At a time when a lower standard of appeal is everywhere apparent, parental control has also slackened, religious faith has wavered, and confusion in world conditions is bringing about a growing fatalism which snatches at delights without thinking of consequences. As a result the boy stands, as never before, in need of a sound and accurate knowledge of sex. Mystery and doubt can only produce a sense of insecurity, and this emotional disharmony as often as not gives rise to physical ill-health. The soul and body being co-partners in goodwill and having generally a common sympathy and mutual feeling, how can they be severed in education? asked Mulcaster in 1581. Ignorance produces fear, and fear destroys that peace within himself without which a boy must seek escape into some objective distraction.

If schoolboys to-day are healthier it is largely due to enlightened treatment which has made them less afraid. 'Self control and the making of right decisions cannot be expected if sex instruction of an accurate and helpful kind is left out of education.'¹ These words are axiomatic : the question is whether the instruction should come from home or school. Because it is essential that the information should be freed from all emotional and sentimental association, because it should be accurate, complete, and unhurried, because it should be given at the correct stage of development, it seems best that it should be given in the schools.

There was a boy once whose mother had embarked on initiation by way of involved botanical analogies, who at the age of 14 still thought himself the result of a union between a daffodil and a butterfly. Personal embarrassment must often produce such confusion. Except in cases of abnormal development, knowledge should be given as a part of the regular Science course. Any question of being summoned to the Headmaster's study for a frank talk about sex is suspect : the occasion becomes for the boy exceptional instead of being in the routine order of things. The lessons in human reproduction are given as a regular part of the Fourth Form syllabus, when the boys' average age is 14-15 years. They are in no way asterisked, but follow straight on from what has gone before. During the previous two or three years boys have been doing biology, and the reproduction of many plants and animals has been dealt with as a natural section of the work. Throughout stress has been laid on the human and personal interest and importance of the subject, and in mammalian work, though a dissected rabbit is exhibited, it is the boys themselves that are discussed. Human reproduction follows from a study of the four activities—sensing, reacting, feeding, and reproducing—of *amœba*, *hydra*, and the frog.

Dealt with by the master who has always been taking them, boys show no greater and no less interest in these

¹ Dr. Drummond Shields, *The Times*, 2nd June, 1938.

lessons than in any others, unless it be a sense of relief that information which they needed was forthcoming. Information possibly picked up from casual conversation given by parents, learned from smut and lavatory walls, is here corrected and systematized, and made complete. The boy who has known little is put on terms of equality with the boy who knows much. Gaps are filled in and any questions the boy may still wish to ask at the end of the two double-periods are dealt with. In finding a school for his son, a parent could do worse than ask a headmaster to define the sex teaching in his school. He has a right to demand that it shall be adequate, just as he has a right to ask that his son be withdrawn from the periods which deal with the subject. Most parents, however, are only too glad to have the responsibility lifted from their shoulders, realizing that the impersonal detachment which is essential for its presentation is for themselves difficult of achievement.

It has been well said that given a good staff, a school may survive an indifferent headmaster. Nothing in our times is more encouraging than the number of young men who come to schoolmastering possessed of Cromwell's authentic 'fire in the belly,' conscious of the seriousness and the opportunity of their vocation. Thomas Fuller's complaint, 'There is scarce any profession in the commonwealth more necessary which is so slightly performed. The reasons thereof I conceive to be these: first, young scholars make this calling their refuge,' held good from the seventeenth century until recent times. To-day headmasters are chary of appointing young graduates to try their prentice hand on human material without a proper course of training: to gamble with the lives of boys is indefensible. Much thought is being put into what constitutes the best course for the training of schoolmasters. But whatever the training, it is the spirit of willingness which finally counts, and this is where the change is most notable. Men are increasingly conscious that a schoolmaster's work is never done, and give of themselves and their time more

and more abundantly, recognizing that their reward though infinite must remain intangible.

It was Pascal who suspected that kings wore ermine and judges their wigs to impose their dignity and learning on the imaginative susceptibilities of those under their sway. Schoolmasters have found similar props to authority in academic dress. To-day they have metaphorically discarded cap and gown, and have 'discased' themselves as surely as did Prospero when he said,

'My charms I'll break, their senses I'll restore,
And they shall be themselves.'

The result is pure gain: boys and masters meet on terms of friendship and ease. But the change imposes on the master an increased strain. Mystery, inaccessibility, and remoteness were aids even as they were disguises. To live on terms of familiarity is a real test of the master's personality and character, for boys pierce hypocrisy as ruthlessly as a scythe cuts down corn. It is the most encouraging sign for the future of English education that teachers have been willing to face this test.

THE CO-EDUCATIONAL SCHOOL

By J. H. BADLEY

THE LAST HALF-CENTURY has brought great educational changes. Both in its range and in its character education is a very different thing to-day from what it was in Victorian times. In speaking of its range I am not thinking only of its wide extension, to all classes and to both sexes, which is now so much a matter of course that it is not easy to realize how recent the advance has been. I am thinking even more of the extension of the actual field of its activities, everything with which a school is concerned to-day as compared with what then was considered to be its function. The curriculum has been broadened by the inclusion of several branches of science and other 'modern' subjects and the practice of arts and crafts, with which, as being beneath its notice, the older education did not concern itself. Physical training is no longer ignored, or regarded as sufficiently ensured by means of games or by a weekly dose of drill or gymnastics of the military pattern.

It is increasingly recognized that school has a responsibility in matters of practical hygiene, and that attention to diet and clothing and the establishment of healthy habits are as much a part of education as the allotment of hours to the various subjects of study and the amount of work to be exacted in each. And as a yet further extension of its range, there is a growing recognition that education is concerned not only with mental and physical development, and with all that is needed for these, but also with the social development of the individual as a member of the community. It is not enough to leave this social development to chance influences and adjustments; in the school life itself there must be provision of opportunities and responsibilities that will ensure some experience of self-government, and

some training for the duties of citizenship and for life in the larger world.

And besides this extension of its range, there has also been a change in the whole conception and practice of education. There would always, no doubt, have been general agreement that its purpose was to give a training that should make those who received it better able to meet the demands of life. These demands, however, were usually thought of as confined to some particular field of activity, such as scholarship, or the learned professions, the life of a country gentleman, or industry or commerce. Until recent times anything beyond elementary education was a privilege of the leisured class, and bore this stamp. In our democratic age its wider extension has also modified its character; it must now be such as will fit not merely for work of this or that kind or for the life of this or that class, but must give opportunity for the development of powers of any kind and for a general culture that touches all sides of life. In ceasing to be narrowly specialized for vocational needs on the one side and for a mainly literary scholarship on the other, it has come to attach more value to creative interests and practical occupations, not for the teaching of a trade but as a means of general development, and as giving a meaning and reality to much that before was merely abstract and academic.

'Learning by doing' has been for half a century the slogan of educational reform; and though it can easily have too narrow an interpretation, it has done good service in reaffirming the old truth that the best teaching is that of experience. The tendency, as it seems to me, which most clearly marks the advance of education to-day is that which attaches less importance to rote-knowledge, of whatever kind, to be reproduced on demand in a written examination, and which finds a far greater value in intelligent initiative and power of 'self-activity,' in keenness of interest and the happiness that comes of living and working in conditions that call out and give free play to the powers of each member of the community.

Education, in short, is a training for life that is best given by experience.

The bearing of all this upon the question of co-education should already have begun to appear. Whatever special demands it may bring, life is largely a matter of social relations; and in these the relations of the sexes towards each other play a large part. If education is to prepare for life as a whole, it is unsatisfactory in so far as it ignores this part of universal experience. And, further, the sex-life is not something which, so far as school is concerned, lies in an adult future which can safely be ignored and left to later experience to deal with. It is one of the services rendered by modern psychology (even if we do not accept all its findings) that it has made plain how early the sex-life begins, and how deeply it can affect the development of the child and the adolescent.

We have here, therefore, a part of life which education, for the sake both of the future and of the present problems with which it has to deal, must not neglect. There is now, happily, a growing awareness of this need amongst parents and teachers, and recognition that some kind of sex-teaching should be given, at home and in the school. But is this all that is to be desired? If the teaching that is the most effective and the most lasting is that given by experience, what we need is not so much teaching *about* the sex-life and sex-relations, but conditions in which that life will have most opportunity of healthy development, and a basis for a sound relationship will be established by the experience of a common upbringing. In the days of large families this might, for most, be sufficiently assured in the home; but such families are rare to-day, and if the greater part of each of the years of adolescence is to be spent in separate schools, there can be comparatively little of the daily give-and-take between the sexes by which such a basis can be found and a healthy development fostered. It must be borne in mind that the sex-relationship of which we have to think is not merely one in which love and marriage are involved. There is also the comradeship of the sexes which is now made possible

—one may almost say necessitated by the conditions of daily life—on a wider scale than ever hitherto, in all kinds of work as well as in personal interests, and not least in the political field and the demands of public life.

If there is anything in these considerations, co-education is in line with the modern tendency that has been outlined above: the tendency, that is, in the first place towards widening the range of education to touch all the main concerns of life; and secondly to modify the academic character of education, previously regarded mainly as the amassing of knowledge and as a mental gymnastic, in the direction of a largely subconscious process of learning by organized experience. It is a sign, therefore, not of educational freakishness but of a general tendency, that a number of schools which are regarded as representative of these educational aims have adopted co-education as an essential part of the kind of training that they advocate. The large increase, since the beginning of the century, in the number of co-educational schools is proof that there are many parents who share this outlook, and who feel that something more is needed than the separate school can give.

What, then, are the gains which those who believe in co-education hold that it has to offer? They fall into two classes, according as we are thinking of its long-range outcome or of its immediate bearing on the conditions of school life. When a claim for co-education is advanced as a valuable part of the training for life that school must try to give, in establishing a sound basis in experience, all the stronger for being mainly subconscious, for mutual understanding and for comradeship in the concerns and needs of life, it is the long-range outcome that is kept in view. But desirable as such an outcome may be, if in seeking it we are introducing adverse conditions into the life and work of school, we might well find the cost too great, and of a kind that would defeat instead of attaining our aim. It is necessary, therefore, first to consider how co-education affects actual school problems and whether the balance is on the side of gain or loss.

Speaking from forty years' experience in a co-educational school, I have no hesitation in saying that the balance can be greatly on the side of gain. In class-work, for instance, where it might be thought that differences in ability and natural bent would tend to lower the standard of work, there is no reason why differences between the sexes should do so more than those between members of the same sex; in either case gradation is necessary, and opportunity for some specialization, in the later stages of school work, along lines of natural bent. The fact that a school contains girls as well as boys does not make it any the less possible for a boy to devote himself to mechanical interests and to specialize in the direction of engineering; but at all stages there are lines of study, history and literature, for example—for even when specialization along other lines has begun the 'humanities' should not be laid aside—that can be followed together with no little advantage to both. In the different interests and in the somewhat different point of view with which the sexes approach the various kinds of school work, teachers in co-educational schools find a factor of considerable educational value. In such things as musical and dramatic work the gain is obvious, and, if not as marked, it is present in other kinds of work as well. Nor should it be overlooked that this applies to the teaching also. In this, as well as in the influence that they exert not only in the classroom but in all sides of the school life, the fact that the staff also contains both sexes is in itself a gain and makes it possible to give more than can be given by one sex only.

This is already much. But co-education is not to be thought of as confined to co-instruction in the classroom; and it is naturally in connection with the social activities of the school life that the contribution which it has to make is greatest. Even in a day-school there is usually a wide field of common activities that lie outside the classroom curriculum; and in a boarding-school there is, of course, still greater possibility, as well as greater need, of such activities. In addition to games and other forms of recreation, there are in many schools voluntary societies for

the pursuit of some particular interest, photography, perhaps, or nature study in its various branches, or study of the archæological remains in the neighbourhood, musical, dramatic, or sketching societies that can undertake more than is possible in class, and a discussion or debating society for political and other questions of the day; and besides all this there is usually some machinery for dealing with problems of school government, whether by a school council or by elected or appointed school officers. In all such activities it can be of no little gain if both sexes take part in them together. Not only is there the added element of interest, spoken of above in connection with class-work, that comes from different points of view, but in the common pursuit of any activity there is a training in voluntary co-operation, and in the mutual give-and-take that it involves, which is of particular value between the sexes as preparation for the fuller co-operation of later life.

It is of special value in matters of self-government. In discussions in the school council—whether this has the actual decision of the questions brought before it, or is only advisory and meant rather to ensure fuller understanding, both on the part of the authorities and of the school, of the needs of the situation and of the advantages or hardships that are involved—and in carrying out the duties of prefects (or whatever those are called to whom authority is entrusted) each sex has its own contribution to make. Both in the making of the actual code of rules under which the school government is carried on, and still more in the shaping of the general consensus of opinion and feeling which is more important than any written code, since it determines to what extent and in what spirit the rules, written and unwritten, are observed, and goes far to make up that impalpable and all-important 'atmosphere' which we call the *tone* of a school, it is a great thing to have this twofold contribution. It makes for a fuller sense of social responsibility, and at the same time for a wider moral outlook than that of the one sex restricted to its own concerns and its own point of view.

This claim, made by those who have known co-educational schools, may of course be questioned, and cannot be substantiated apart from such knowledge. It does not assert that in a single-sex school the tone cannot be admirable: many have the good fortune to know schools that disprove such an assertion. Nor does it claim that the mere fact of having boys and girls together in a school is enough, apart from all other considerations, to ensure a sense of responsibility and a fine moral tone. Our claim is that, other things being equal, and given sound conditions and sensible direction, co-education has something to give, through the inter-action of the sexes in all the concerns of daily life and in the settlement of the various problems to which these give rise, which is of the utmost value both at the time and for the future. For it gives abundant opportunity for mutual understanding and respect, based on real qualities and on actual experience, and so is a safeguard against equally unfounded idealization or contempt. It gives opportunity also for establishing habitual comradeship, in work and in other interests, and the recognition of other grounds for such comradeship besides that of sex-attraction only. And in so doing it is giving a fuller training for life than the separate school can give.

In all that concerns physical training, on the other hand, co-education may at first sight seem to have little or no gain to offer. In the main school games, for instance, which are recognized as forming a necessary part of such training no one, I imagine, would advocate setting boys and girls to play together. To do so would only spoil the game, and destroy most of its value, for both. So too in athletic sports; and in whatever gymnastic training is given, even if the same system is followed, it is wiser, after the junior-school stage, to let it be given separately. In these things as well as in specialization on the intellectual side, boys must not, and need not in a co-educational school, be kept from the kind of exercise that they need in its most strenuous forms. There are, however, games such as tennis, that can be played together and some sports—riding, for example—and outdoor

occupations in which no distinction need be made; and in these the added interest and the sense of comradeship bring a gain like that given by the common pursuit of other social interests.

But it is in the indirect gain to the general well-being of the school that co-education has much to give on the side of physical development as in other things. Health is dependent not only on physical factors such as exercise and food, but on mental factors as well; and amongst these latter one whose importance and the far-reaching nature of its effects are now coming to be better understood is the presence or absence of sexual strain. It has been too readily assumed that such strain is not likely to arise until a later period of adolescence, and that its incidence is lessened in the absence of the other sex. Both these assumptions are contrary to fact. There is now abundant evidence that the sex-instinct is at work from an early stage, exerting a strong subconscious influence, and that if it is to remain a normal and helpful part of general development, it needs some wholesome satisfaction. Those who know the Public Schools know how far it is, as a rule, from finding any kind of wholesome satisfaction there, and what are only too apt to be the results. Where the sexes are together, in constant contact upon simple and natural terms and sharing all the interests of the daily life, there is through this very fact a satisfaction, the more complete for being largely subconscious, of the instinctive need. One of the things that impresses itself most strongly on an observer in a good co-educational school is the ease and naturalness of the relations between the sexes, and the general sense of cheerful activity and well-being which is, in large measure, the result.

But even if this be granted—it can only, as said above, be confirmed by experience—does not co-education involve certain drawbacks and dangers which, in spite of any advantages it may bring, make it an unwise, or at least hazardous, experiment? In the very fact of giving satisfaction to the sex-instinct must it not encourage a

premature sex-development and give opportunity for adolescent sex-attractions which cannot but distract energy from the proper work and interests of the school? And even apart from this danger, is it not too soft a training for a boy if he is to be brought up among girls and share their pursuits? Even if it is good for the girl to share the wider life and more bracing atmosphere of a boy's school, must there not be on his side a corresponding loss? These are natural doubts, which must not be ignored by those who see what co-education has to offer.

As to the first, so far from tending to make sex-development premature, with most it tends rather, by giving to the instinct, as I have said, a constant and mainly unconscious satisfaction, to let the specific sex feelings develop more slowly and at their appropriate age. For these co-education has little difficulty to set against its undoubted gains. There are some, of course, with whom this development is earlier than with most. Some—in forty years I have found very few coming from good homes—for this reason, or through something unfortunate in their upbringing, are unsuited for co-education. But in general those who are more susceptible to sex-attraction find in the possibility of friendships with girls the best of outlets and the very means of training that they most need. Given both common sense and sympathy on the part of the school authorities and a sound public opinion in the school (and all of these are essential if co-education is to be successful), such friendships can be a valuable part of the real education of learning by experience under helpful conditions. If at times they seem to absorb energies that should be given to other things, the immediate loss may be well worth while in the long run. I need hardly say that full and frank teaching about the meaning of sex and the questions it arouses both in adolescence and in connection with love and marriage is a necessary part of school training. This is now increasingly recognized in all good schools. If co-education makes the need of such teaching still more evident (and also, I would add, makes it, contrary to what

might be thought, easier to give) this is not the least of its gains.

But is it at the cost, to the boy, of too soft an environment, and consequent weakening of physical and moral fibre? If a few boys were admitted into a school for girls, this might be expected. But a school is not in a true sense co-educational if there is a marked preponderance of one sex or a difference in the range of age. I have already said that in a co-education school a boy must be—and can perfectly well be—free to follow his own bent, in his work and other interests, and to play his own games. The records of such schools, both in scholarship and in athletics, show that boys in them need not suffer any handicap in these respects. There is, however, one respect in which co-education does—or at least should—set its mark on a boy. While it is an entirely groundless fear that he must inevitably become a 'sissie' or lose any of his manly qualities, life in such a school should make for less roughness in manners and language; not because he has to adopt feminine standards but because, where all questions of behaviour and school government have to be worked out by both sexes together, there is necessarily a modification of the standard of either alone, and one that, under wholesome conditions, tends to enlarge and strengthen the standard on its weaker side.

A difficulty in all education, and one that in the co-education school is only made more prominent, is that caused by marked differences of bent and ability. There is also, as between the two sexes, a somewhat different rate of development; for while girls mature more rapidly than boys, and at the beginning of adolescence are from one to two years ahead of them in physical and mental development, in the later teens boys go ahead and the position is reversed. This in the eyes of some is enough to condemn co-education out of hand. And I should agree with them if it meant (as they seem to assume) setting boy and girl at all ages to do exactly the same things, letting the one sex set or retard the pace for the other, and encouraging competition between them. But it need

not mean any of these things. It is an entire mistake to suppose that there must be more sex-competition in a co-education school. The fact that both are working side by side does not therefore make the work any more competitive than in separate schools in which, as it is, they are taking the same examinations. In the earlier stages a normal boy is well able to hold his own and is not in the least likely to be induced to overwork; the stimulus of working with the somewhat maturer girl is only good for him. And at the later stage if a considerable amount of specialization is allowed along lines of natural bent and ability there need not be either any holding back on the one side or any sense of strain on the other.

But it is not only as between the sexes that the possibility of following different lines of work is desirable. While most people are ready enough to agree (though without much solid ground for their opinion) that there are innate differences between boy and girl—a boy, they think, cannot be expected to 'make a fool of himself' by trying to talk French or writing poetry, any more than a girl can do mathematics or throw a cricket-ball—they are apt to assume that all boys are so far alike that the same curriculum can be laid down for them all, and all can be expected to make something of it. This assumption has done, and still does, untold harm in education. There is, of course, a common minimum both of knowledge and of skill that all must possess. With this elementary education is concerned. But even this minimum all will not acquire in the same way. And anything beyond this—the more extended knowledge and special skill, the intelligence and power of judgment, that should, to the fullest extent of individual ability, be the outcome of education—is not to be gained by mass methods or by putting all through the same mill. To give each an opportunity of developing what powers he has and becoming the best self of which he is capable is the aim of what is sometimes called 'progressive' education, with its more individual methods and the greater freedom that it regards as a condition of healthy growth. This trend in the school of to-day co-education helps to strengthen.

For this reason it is mainly schools of the newer type that are co-educational; and for my own part I should regard opportunity for much individual treatment as a condition essential for deriving the full benefit from co-education.

I have just spoken of the greater freedom in such a school. There are few words capable of more varied interpretation than 'freedom,' and not least in reference to education. To some it may seem in this connection to imply an entire absence of rules or any sort of discipline, and a general feeling of go-as-you-please. The freedom that I want in education is not of that kind; it does not mean freedom to smoke, to spend all spare time at the cinema, to go to classes or not, to use any kind of language and behaviour towards the staff, and so on. That is not the sort of freedom that a boy needs for healthy growth, but a licence that is good for him neither at the time nor as training for the future. The freedom that he needs is opportunity for self-activity and self-control; and for this a framework of external discipline is necessary. But we must not try to arrange everything for him, to plan out all his time and occupations, to shield him from all difficulties of experience. What we have to do is to provide an environment that he feels to be kindly, sensible, stimulating; one that offers plenty of opportunity for the exercise of his powers but gives no encouragement to their misuse; one that makes calls upon his will and satisfies his emotional nature, and so brings the sense of well-being given by a full and happy life.

That it helps to provide such an environment, and thereby makes possible a fuller experience and training, is the claim of those who believe in co-education; and it is the purpose of the co-educational school. Such a school seeks to combine some of the influences of home with the wider life and special interests of school. It is the more desirable that the school should do so now that so many changes in modern life, amongst them the marked decrease in the size of families and in the amount of time and attention that parents can give to them, have taken from the old home-life and its influences much for which

there is little compensation unless the need is recognized and provision made for it as a part of school training.

If I am asked whether the co-educational school provides for a boy the best environment and training, I can only say that this depends on the school and on the boy. Co-education is not a panacea, bound to bring about the best results under all circumstances. I do not want to make too great a claim for it. There are some, as I have said, for whom it may not be suitable or who may not be suited for it. And at best it is only one among the influences, direct and indirect, that form the all-important environmental aspect of education. Its value is heightened or diminished by the general conditions of the school life. It is not to be safeguarded by a grudging or suspicious manner of treatment, but only by trust, frankness, and common sense. There must be much freedom of intercourse, without unnecessary and merely irksome restrictions. There must be the fullest sharing of opportunities and responsibilities: not necessarily of all kinds of work or games, but of all social interests and of all that is concerned with school government. There must be equality of status and treatment, and at the same time much allowance for individual differentiation.

If these conditions are secured, then without doubt co-education offers a fuller environment and a fuller training. I have touched on particular gains that it seems to me to bring at the time, and on its satisfaction of an instinctive need which adds to the happiness of school life and so helps to bring about a vigorous and harmonious development. And for the future, apart from the specific training it gives in association for common ends, it also establishes in the subconscious experience standards of thought and feeling and a sense of comradeship which are, more than ever before, needed for dealing with the problems of our time. If the ultimate aim of education is fullness of life, in fullness of life also, in the organized experience of school, is to be found the means of attaining that aim. That is the ground for my belief in co-education, a belief which has only been strengthened by a long experience of it in practice.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

By C. S. MYERS AND J. G. W. DAVIES

PREVIOUS CHAPTERS HAVE dealt with the making of the man as a social and an intellectual unit. But it is no less the function of education to fit him to become a satisfactory economic unit. Although little or no specific vocational training is given in a public or secondary school, the school should feel the obligation of directing the attention of young people towards vocational objectives. It should stimulate them both to acquire information about occupations and to estimate their own potentialities in the occupational field. The experience of vocational advisers shows how frequently an individual within a few weeks of leaving school is facing the vocational plunge without having read a single line about careers, or without having discussed a single possibility except in its vaguest terms.

In Victorian times the study of individual mental and physical differences had not proceeded sufficiently far to bring home the necessity for educational and vocational guidance. Moreover, competition was then less keen, and the influences of industrial rationalization and speedier communication were less intense. In those days, for these and other reasons, the weak links in the chain were not subjected to a strain great enough to impair the chain's effectiveness. In the public and secondary schools, therefore, it was felt that the training of the mind afforded by academic education would produce an infinite adaptability. The 'classic' of 18 was equally fitted to become the doctor, the business man or the administrator of the future. And this illusion was fostered by the emphasis placed upon the worth of character and determination compared with that of general and specific mental abilities. If your work did not suit you, then you would benefit by the effort of setting your teeth and manfully overcoming your deficiencies.

But it was not sufficiently realized that in the wrong groove a boy or girl may go under altogether. The battlefields of psycho-neurosis are admittedly to-day strewn with the bodies of the occupationally maladjusted. And, though an unsuitable occupation may not necessarily induce psycho-neurotic symptoms, the apathy and discouragement which accompany frustration are bound to have a deleterious effect upon personality. The degree of occupational adjustment, of course, is infinitely varied. The number of people in the perfect niche is as small as the number at work that is unrelievedly distasteful. The ordinary state of affairs is something near the mean between these two. But it is reasonable to suppose that, while few can hope for occupations where there is never a moment's irritation, boredom and anxiety, a methodical approach to the choice of a career may shift the mean nearer to the satisfactory end of the scale. Admittedly we are to some extent adaptable. But adaptability varies with individuals. And, in any case, to put too much faith in adaptability is a dangerous procedure.

Ideally, it may be agreed, no one should finally settle on their occupation until they have reached full adult age. There is no doubt whatever that the chief factor which complicates the choice of a career is that under our present economic system only a few can defer their decision till they have definitely emerged from the adolescent stage. The vast majority of public and secondary school boys and girls must choose between the ages of 16 and 19. And even those who pass on to university courses, although they may not enter employment until they are 22 or 23, have usually committed themselves to lines of specialization which restrict them to a narrow range of possibilities. In fact, the following ironic dilemma may arise: A young person may take a chance and choose his job before he is at an age really to know what he needs. Or, if he waits until he is old enough to know what he needs, he may not be able to get it.

The system of age-limits and the establishment of traditional ages of entry to various occupations is

responsible for this state of affairs. Suppose a man, having completed a degree course and attained to years of tolerable discretion, decides that the most satisfactory calling for him would be banking. It will be extraordinarily difficult for him to enter this profession without influence, for it is most unusual for banks to engage juniors over 18. Conversely, if he starts young, he will find it hard to change from one occupation to another without money either to provide further training or to tide him over while he is learning his new technique. And, as he grows older, the occupational field narrows. There are not many alternatives open to the man of 23 or 24 who has no money of his own, except in fields to which his previous experience is relevant. Most of us cannot afford to 'chop and change' for long. There is not much to be said in these days for the school of thought which says 'Let him try several lines and see what suits him best. The experience will do him good, and he can then find his true *métier*'. It may be reasonable enough advice for the rich man, the opportunist or the exceptionally able individualist. But the vast majority are apt to become unsettled by this treatment. Insecurity pricks them; they compare themselves unfavourably with Jones, who has already had two promotions in the Civil Service; they cannot look forward to a state of affairs which will allow them to marry and to settle down.

For most people, then, definite objectives are desirable. Furthermore, if they do not determine their main vocational line fairly early, there is the danger that they will fall short of the financial standards reasonably expected by people in the social group to which they belong. It is, of course, unwise to lay too much stress upon purely financial questions in choosing a career. But it is a blow to most men's self-respect if they feel themselves to be unsuccessful competitors in the economic struggle. And it is a continual irritation to many young men that their salaries do not permit them to get married and to maintain at any rate something approaching the standards of living to which they have been accustomed. This situation produces that vague restlessness and discontent which is

not uncommon in people between 23 and 28 who in other respects seem to be fairly stable and well-established.

A critic of scientific vocational guidance might say: 'I admit that it is more difficult for an adolescent to choose a career than an adult. He is being asked to make the second most important choice of his life at an age when he may not even choose his own pyjamas. But he is not unaided. His schoolmasters must know a good deal about his potentialities. He has parents anxious for his welfare to give him assistance. Surely their advice, coupled with even adolescent ideas of his own desires and interests, should be enough to place him satisfactorily, if not perfectly. You have admitted that perfect niches are the exception rather than the rule. I do not believe that the difficulties of the vocational choice are so complex as you suggest.'

Now this statement is not without an element of truth. If teachers and parents were always both informed and impartial, and if adolescent desires and interests were reliable vocational pointers, then further vocational guidance should be unnecessary. Unfortunately these conditions are but seldom fulfilled. Let us consider for a moment the factors which combine to bewilder the adolescent himself.

First, only the most fortunate or the most enterprising can obtain direct information about occupations and their requirements. Plenty of second-hand information may be available, but this is often incomplete or biased and tends to arouse his suspicion. Secondly, although adolescence is a move in the direction of greater self-awareness, it is unusual for the adolescent to recognize the drives which affect his emotional life and to assign proper values to them. He is at a stage when some independence of thought and ideals is developing, but the world about him seems continually to obstruct their realization. He is apt, therefore, to lay stress upon wants and dislikes which are likely to be changed or mitigated by maturity.

Systematic self-analysis, then, is a formidable undertaking.

Thirdly, adolescents are incorrigible optimists. Few of them are prepared to accept their limitations philosophically. All too often the dunce pictures himself as the research scientist, the timid weakling as the pioneer, the recluse as the leading light of the stage. 'I want to be a champion,' 'I want to be different,' 'I couldn't bear routine' are the half-expressed wishes of hundreds of young people, not yet aware that we are bound by the extent of our abilities and energy and that routine and discipline are never wholly avoidable. It is fear of routine and discipline that prompts so many ambitions towards a glamorous or exciting career, without a real investigation of the difficulties and disappointments which such careers usually entail. The would-be journalist sees the freedom and variety of the life, but not the precarious, competitive and often disillusioning working conditions. Fourthly, the adolescent is being asked to abandon security for insecurity. Not without a struggle he has made a place for himself at school. Probably he is beginning to gain a few privileges and to command some confidence and respect. In this environment he is 'somebody.' Now he has to exchange this state of affairs for one of which he knows little except that he must start again at the bottom. He must leap in the dark, knowing that a soft landing is unusual. It is indeed common, especially where boys or girls are contented with school life, to find them reluctant to face the vocational problem at all: the familiar is too pleasant, the unfamiliar too bewildering. Many such adolescents wish to become teachers in their effort to preserve life in the scholastic atmosphere.

These, then, are some of the problems of the adolescent. Can his natural mentors, his teachers and parents, provide him with the information and the guidance which will solve his difficulties? There is little doubt that schoolmasters and schoolmistresses are in the best position to give vocational advice satisfactorily. They have been able to obtain a picture of their pupil's intellectual develop-

ment and to some extent of his interests and emotional growth. The knowledge of the pupil which is not possessed by the teacher can probably be supplied by judicious co-operation with the parent. Unfortunately, it is only very recently that the importance of careers work in schools has begun to receive its proper degree of attention. And schools still exist in which there is no careers master, in which no time allowance is made for the discussion of the vocational problem, in which no steps are taken to place information about careers before school leavers by means of books, pamphlets and lectures and in which no connections are formed between employers and school authorities. In a few schools all these *desiderata* exist. In others the need is recognized, but too much is left to individual enterprise. In schools of the former category immense sacrifices of sparetime are not infrequently made by careers masters to obtain detailed knowledge of vocational conditions and requirements and to place boys satisfactorily. In other schools, however, there is still an unwarrantable apathy towards taking real trouble over vocational advice. Fewest of all are the schools in which careers masters have been brought into contact with vocational guidance as a systematized scientific technique. The fact remains, however, that the schoolmaster is in the position to give the wisest and most impartial advice.

It is fashionable for parents to be made the villains of the piece whenever young people show some form of maladjustment. And, of course, it would be easy to quote numerous instances where parents have been responsible for their children's unsatisfactory vocational choices. But it is well to reflect that there are many instances in which parental advice has been justified and to recognize the pitfalls which lie in wait for parents. In the first place, a father, though he may be an expert in his own particular line and perhaps in close contact with the conditions of several more professions or trades, can hardly be expected to possess sufficient knowledge of the entire occupational field. Many parents, then, are apt to advise their sons to go in for something they know rather than to cast further

afield. But there is also the danger that they may possess inaccurate or incomplete knowledge of other occupations. If these seem reasonably promising, it may lead them to influence their boy towards these careers. For choosing a career is not a task which must of necessity take us to the expert. It is not to be compared to a choice of action depending on a point of law which only the lawyer can solve. We are not blankly ignorant about occupations. Most of us, for example, have a vague idea of what a surveyor does. On the other hand, few of us know in detail what is required of a surveyor, how to set about training for the job, and what branches are open to the qualified men. Yet a parent is liable to be influenced by his hazy conception of the work, especially if he hears Robinson at the club saying: 'Take it from me, a qualified surveyor who can't earn £1,000 a year is simply wasting his opportunities.'

Even more dangerous are the parents who do not perceive that the advice they are giving their children is not based upon a methodical consideration of the children's potentialities, but upon their own emotional attitude to the problem. First, there are those fathers who see in their children's career a continuation of their own achievements or the expression of their own frustrated aims. The former will insist upon their sons continuing the family business or the family practice, regardless of their suitability for the post. Conversely, the dissatisfied father may say: 'I've never liked my work. By an effort I've made a success of it, but I don't want my boy to repeat my experience. He can choose anything but my business.' It is difficult to convince such people that the boy may find the work less irksome than the father and perhaps be thankful for this fortunate opportunity. In this connection an actual case of a clergyman whose lifelong ambition had been engineering may be worth quoting. From his earliest days he had instilled into his son the idea of becoming an engineer. Yet the boy had little mechanical ability, tackled mathematics with the greatest difficulty and did not maintain for long an interest in practical hobbies. But the father was prepared

to disregard these symptoms and, with the best intentions, to risk spoiling his son's career in order to realize the fulfilment of his own thwarted ambition.

Secondly, there is the danger of the parent who aims too high. He wants his son to be at the top, the winner of success and recognition, somebody that he can point to with pride. 'Look what I have begotten' is the unexpressed basis of his outlook. Such parents will set the highest standards, inculcate the idea that success means being at the head of one's profession and over-stimulate their children's ambition. It is, of course, desirable to avoid aiming too low in the occupational field. But, unless we are certain that a boy is exceptionally able and determined, it is unwise to set exceptionally high standards. If the boy is of only moderate ability (the lot, naturally, of the majority of boys), it will prove discouraging always to fall short of these standards. It may lay the seeds of deep-seated inferiority feelings. Thirdly, there are the over-anxious parents, eager to protect their children from hard knocks and to avoid the worry which they themselves will feel if they are not absolutely certain of their son's future. These parents may over-emphasize the value of security. They are the apostles of the Civil Service and the banks, the doubters who seize upon every rumour that a profession is 'overcrowded.' They will exaggerate the risk of an 'unsafe' occupation and may ignore the possibility that their children have more confidence and individualism than they themselves possess. Fourthly, there is the parent for whom the problem is too formidable. He shelves the unwelcome responsibility. Excusing his laziness on the score of magnanimous open-mindedness, he says: 'I leave it absolutely to the boy. He has a completely free hand. I don't want to attempt to influence him. He may choose anything he likes.' He forgets that the boy's bewilderment is even greater than his own and that the parent can give invaluable help in directing the boy's attention to vocational possibilities.

If there are so many factors combining to complicate the choice of a career, is it possible to lay down principles

which can be used as a basis for giving sound advice? In Great Britain the National Institute of Industrial Psychology has been the body mainly responsible for the development, both by means of experimental research and of advisory work, of scientifically attested principles of vocational guidance. Its methods are not spectacular. There is no magical process by which successful predictions can be assured. It is an art based on scientific procedure and knowledge. Indeed, vocational guidance is merely a refinement of common sense. But, above all, it is a systematic study of a problem to which system is seldom applied. It aims at including factors which may tend to be neglected and at laying the correct stress upon factors which may tend either to be exaggerated or to be undervalued.

An account of experimental method is usually tedious and would be out of place in a discussion of this type. It seems better to describe merely the broad conclusions which the Institute's work has produced concerning the way in which vocational problems should be tackled. For these principles are the same for the vocational psychologist, the careers master, the parent and the school leaver alike.

We need to find some scale which can be applied to the rating both of the individual's potentialities and to the requirements of occupations. When we make headings under which to analyse occupations, the same headings must be applicable to men and to women. What the job demands, in short, must be compared with what the individual can bring to the job. When this is done we can attempt to produce an approximate fit between the two.

The first function of the vocational adviser is to rule out unsuitable occupations. He regards this as even more important than a statement about positively suitable careers. To prevent a disease, doctors study patients who are suffering from it. So too, it is from the study of vocational failures that the principles of vocational guidance have emerged. From this study we declare that

there are seven main reasons why a person can fail either to secure a job or to settle down satisfactorily in any given occupation. The demands of a career, then, and the make-up of the individual are rated under these seven headings:

First, it may be impossible or unwise for a boy (or girl) to enter some occupation because of some aspect of his (or her) family circumstances. Obviously he should not nourish ambitions towards medicine, if the cost of medical training is more than his parents can afford. Similarly there are various trades and businesses which are for the most part conducted by small private firms where it is unusual to obtain openings without personal influence and introductions. A survey of the influence which may be used to secure posts should be made for every individual, for it is as stupid to neglect such influence as to snatch at it without considering other alternatives. From the psychological point of view, too, it may be unwise for a boy who does not get on with his father to enter the family business; or a boy with a cleverer brother may find it best to avoid taking up the same profession. The study of family relationships, then, is an integral part of vocational guidance. For, quite apart from their relevance to his general development, they are often directly responsible for the vocational ideas which the boy already entertains. Admiration for his father, a competent solicitor, may predispose a boy to the choice of law, though his abilities may not lie in this direction. Dislike of an elder brother who is doing well in architecture may prejudice a boy against this profession, though his talents may fit him well for it.

Secondly, an occupation may be unsuitable because of something in the individual's physical make-up. Colour blindness may nullify a boy's otherwise commendable ambitions for the Navy. A potential policeman may not be tall enough to comply with the regulations. A stammer may blight the future of the would-be salesman, or damp hands that of the would-be milliner. Certain hotel groups will not engage trainees who have to wear

spectacles. An easily tired voice may ruin the prospective auctioneer. The vocational adviser, then, must have a fairly complete medical history of every individual who passes through his hands.

Thirdly, a contemplated career may prove impossible because a young person's attainments are inadequate to its demands. Many grades of the Civil Service, for example, may be closed to an otherwise suitable candidate because his standard in acquired knowledge is too low for the competitive examinations. Many employers insist upon the holding of a matriculation certificate. Some manufacturers will only take juniors who have reached higher certificate standard in science and mathematics.

Fourthly, occupations demand differing levels of intelligence. 'Intelligence' is a word which almost everybody uses, but it is very rarely used by people to mean exactly the same attribute. The vocational adviser means by general intelligence the accurate and speedy discernment and foresight of relevant relations between experiences and the appropriate use of those relations. The level of general intelligence of a young person, and the kind of material on which his intelligence can best work, determine the level of complexity and the nature of the material with which he should deal. A person of high general intelligence may be a fool in the everyday affairs of life, where a less intelligent person may show wise action. But the latter could not work out the actuarial problem which the former may solve with ease. It is important, then, to see how a boy or girl stands in general intellectual capacity as compared with his or her fellows and to know roughly the level of intelligence demanded by various occupations.

Fifthly, many occupations demand certain specialized aptitudes or abilities which do not appear to depend entirely upon general intellectual capacity. A person of high intelligence may possess little mechanical ability; another of low intelligence may possess considerable linguistic ability. The degree to which these aptitudes exist in an individual seems to be governed only partly by

the level of his intelligence. The Institute has encountered several cases of boys who have been rejected by a well-known London engineering college. Psychological tests have revealed their general intelligence to be equal to the course. They proved deficient, however, in mechanical aptitude, which was naturally an important factor in a training of this nature. The commonest specialized aptitudes which may be of vocational significance are literary, linguistic, arithmetical, mathematical, scientific, mechanical, manual, drawing, artistic, and musical. A school leaver, then, should consider how he stands in respect of these attributes and see to what extent his contemplated ambitions require them.

Sixthly, a post may prove uncongenial because it offers no outlet for a person's interests. Critics may say that the interests of an adolescent may be quite unrelated to the interests of an adult and that they cannot be regarded as reliable vocational pointers. This is in many respects a valid criticism. But it presupposes that vocational advisers will make recommendations that will afford a *direct* outlet of their existing interests, *i.e.* they might suggest entomology as a career for a boy who keenly collects butterflies and beetles. It has been found more satisfactory, however, to study the interests of adolescents with the object of discovering how far they incline towards one of three main groups. It is useful to think of occupations as being predominantly concerned with abstract, symbolic and written material, with concrete material, or with people. They may be conveniently styled clerical, practical, and social.

Under the first-named we can include occupations dealing mainly with problems expressed in abstract form, or in words and figures. Accountancy, librarianship and editorial work will serve as diverse examples of this group. Under the second we include all occupations mainly concerned with the manipulation of concrete objects—making, repairing, adapting, designing and working them. Engineering, art and agriculture might all be ranged in this group. Under the third we include all occupations

mainly concerned with personal contacts—instructing, persuading, and managing people. Teaching, salesmanship and hotel management are examples of what we have in mind. Obviously these groups overlap. But in the majority of callings one of the three activities is the most important. Now at the adolescent stage there are often signs that the individual's interests are tending predominantly towards one or other of these groups of activities. He may find most pleasure in books, in writing, in ideas and theories, in keeping records: or he may spend his time on practical hobbies, making models, handicrafts, doing odd jobs, seeing how machinery works, photography, gardening: or he may be happiest among people, joining in parties, organizing games, attending clubs, etc. Such indications may prove useful in making vocational suggestions. For these general groups of interests change less than specific interests.

It is also most important not to confuse interest with ability. A boy who is intensely interested in machinery is not necessarily blessed with mechanical aptitude. And the lover of art may be attracted to such pursuits not because he possesses artistic talent but because it provides an outlet which does not necessarily depend upon aptitude. In fact, it is in the assessment of young people's interests that the vocational adviser needs most psychological experience. For so often they are interested in subjects not because latent capability is trying to find expression, but because they wish to compensate for some shortcoming or to escape from some uncongenial problem.

Seventhly, an occupation may turn out to be unsuitable because the individual's temperament cannot adapt itself satisfactorily to its demands. Most of us are familiar with the tactless secretary, the impatient teacher, the disobliging salesman, or the fussy and over-anxious executive. The vocational adviser must possess a knowledge at any rate of the contra-indications, that is, of traits which would be fatal to success in various occupations. Now it is again possible to criticize the study of adolescent temperament on the ground that it will change

substantially with greater maturity. This criticism, too, would be valid if the adviser were to take a cross-section of the individual as he is at the moment. And admittedly some predictions of future development must inevitably go astray. But we can make as certain as possible of our ground by studying trends. Our aim is to trace the development of the individual from an early age and to see in what ways he is changing and in what ways he is consistent.

In determining the general intelligence and the special mental aptitudes or abilities of an applicant for vocational guidance, the adviser can obtain much help from the parent and the teacher and by interviews with the applicant himself. But not infrequently the teacher or the parent assesses these abilities inaccurately. The young person may have been taught by one or more teachers highly uncongenial to him; and either teacher or parent may be biased in his favour or otherwise. He may not have done himself credit at school owing to absences through illness or owing to inadequate previous grounding. For these reasons standardized tests of general and special abilities are of no little value. Occasionally, but not often, they discover unsuspected talent. Their use is not essential in every case of vocational guidance. But they are of help in confirming information obtained elsewhere or in settling discordant of opinions. Moreover, they provide more exact measures of these abilities and owing to their previous standardization the scores can be used for accurate comparison with those of other members of the particular social or educational group to which the young person belongs. Consequently no expert vocational adviser would dispense with the use of suitable tests, although, unlike the general public, he does not regard them as essential, but only as ancillary, as a valuable aid, to scientific guidance.

Indeed the vocational adviser is very far from depending for his guidance even mainly on the use of tests. His advice is the product of a co-operative effort. He obtains all the information he can from parents, head or house-

masters, form masters, doctors, and from the young persons themselves. His opinion is based on sifting all the evidence thus available and on the conclusions which he has formed himself after adequate and intimate interviews with the young person and after applying the tests which he may think it desirable to employ. Vocational guidance involves essentially a 'global' attitude. Not only has the adviser to combine all the information which he can obtain from various sources. He has also to take into consideration the many influencing factors of which the more important have been described in this chapter.

Conducted along these lines, vocational guidance has proved astonishingly successful, despite the many difficulties with which it is surrounded. This success has been irrefutably established by following up in their after-careers those young people who have received such guidance, comparing the advice given with the satisfaction achieved, and also comparing the value of the advice given to those who were guided according to the methods adopted by the vocational psychologist with the value of the advice given to those who were guided by the haphazard procedure previously and unfortunately still too often employed.

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